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THE EMERSON SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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NUMBER 11 II QUARTER 1958

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Kenneth Walter Cameron

HELP SAVE WALDEN POND

DEAR FAMILY AND FRIENDS: Will you kindly read the letter on page two and, as generously as possible, help us to beat ploughshares into swords for the coming legal battle? Checks should be made out to the THOREAU SOCIETY, INC., and what you contribute is deductible from taxible income.

TEACHERS AND PROFESSORS are asked to enlist the aid of their students in helping our good cause. Class contributions will be most encouraging.

WHEN SENDING YOUR GIFT, please indicate that you are a member of THE EMERSON SOCIETY. Accept our best thanks!!!

Nov. 2, 1957

Walden Pond Alterations Draw Fire

Hartford Times

The fight for preservation of Thoreau's Walden Pond received strong support here Thursday.

The executive committee of the Emerson Society of America, meeting at Trinity College, voted to support the Thoreau Society efforts in "preserving the Walden of Emerson and Thoreau, its shores and woodlands."

They further vowed "to bring to the attention of its members the violation of the terms under which the State of Massachusetts accepted the tracts of land from the Forbes and Emerson families." It was also voted to give as wide publicity as possible to the present desecration of the pond, in the forthcoming issue of the Emerson Society Quarterly.

Dr. Kenneth W. Cameron, editor of the Quarterly and an associate professor of English at Trinity, said, "Emerson and Thoreau were given Walden Pond as a memorial appropriate to their work and teaching. Walden woods provided the inspiration and symbolism of their poetry.

"More than that," he continued, "the little hut hidden among trees surrounding blue water has become symbolic of adventurous living for thousands of literate Americans. A pond without its trees, with altered shoreline, modern roadways and obtrusive bath houses, is the invention of Philistines."

Emerson Memorial President Writes: Plenty of Ponds but Only One Walden

To the Editor—As president of the Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Assn., I wish to express my dismay when I read in your paper of July 17 that a movement is on foot to fatally injure Walden Pond.

As we all know, for years its value as a memorial to Thoreau has been seriously impaired. Now an approach towards its ruin, we understand, is being carried on.

I am glad to hear that the citizens of Concord are rising in their wrath to prevent this sacrilege. There are plenty of ponds in Massachusetts where the public can go, now that transportation is so easy—but there is only one Walden Pond, only one Concord, with its traditions.

Ralph Waldo Emerson owned the land on which Thoreau built his hut. Emerson also owned more than half of the shore line of Walden. The children of Emerson gave a part of the land which he owned to the state in the hopes that the pond could thus be preserved for the public.

Many members of the Emerson family and of the R. W. E. Memorial Assn. will not be pleased at the misuse of the power that has been given, which is to be used, if reports are correct, for the further desolation of the pond.

EDWARD W. FORBES.

Reprinted from The Boston Globe
Friday, Aug. 2, 1957

Trinity Tripod, Hartford.
Nov. 6, 1957

Emerson, Thoreau Societies Strive To Keep Up Walden

The executive committee of the Emerson Society of America, meeting at Trinity College last week, voted to support the efforts of the Thoreau Society in "preserving the Walden of Emerson and Thoreau, its shores and woodlands" and in bringing to the attention of its members the violation of the terms under which the State of Massachusetts accepted the tracts of land from the Forbes and Emerson families. It was also voted to give as wide publicity as possible to the present desecration of the pond in a forthcoming issue of the Emerson Society Quarterly.

Said Dr. Kenneth W. Cameron, editor of its publications and associate professor of English at Trinity, "Emerson and Thoreau were given Walden Pond as a memorial appropriate to their work and teaching. Walden woods provided the inspiration and symbolism of their poetry. More than that, the little hut hidden among trees surrounding blue water has become symbolic of adventurous living for thousands of literate Americans. A pond without its trees, with altered shore line, modern roadways and obtrusive bath houses is the invention of Philistines."

Including in its membership nearly 200 teachers and professors throughout the United States and abroad, many of whom now consider an annual pilgrimage to Thoreau-land as a part of the college curriculum, the Society is concerned lest what has become a national shrine—the principal landmark in Concord—will be deprived of its ornaments and topographical associations.

The Thoreau Society, Inc.

WALTER HARDING, *Treasurer*
State University Teachers College
GENESEO, NEW YORK

October 10, 1957

Dear Friend of Walden:

Many of the hundreds of protests received by the Thoreau Society about the desecration of Walden have asked what could be done, concretely, to stop it.

For a time it looked as if the letters and widespread publicity would be effective with the men responsible. However, it was not enough, and we had to resort to the expense and vexation of a law suit, in which we have won the first round, a temporary injunction to halt the building of a road and a 100-ft. bathhouse.

The suit will leave the Save Walden Committee with bills far beyond the Thoreau Society's capacity to pay. There is no doubt of the value received; the havoc was stopped in its tracks.

The Save Walden Committee hopes to establish a legal precedent which will go far to halt similar bulldozer onslaughts against sites of natural beauty.

Walden is an unparalleled living monument, a shrine for conservationists and naturalists, and a focus for the plain living and high thinking philosophy that is America's unique and paradoxical gift to mankind.

We hope now to preserve the Walden of Emerson and Thoreau as the generous donors of the land intended, with your aid and comfort.

Contributions may be sent to Professor Harding at the above address. Checks should be made to the Thoreau Society, Inc. In the opinion of our counsel, such contributions to enable the Society to wage its campaign to preserve Walden Pond are deductible for Federal income tax purposes to the extent allowed by law.

Faithfully yours,

Edwin Way Teale	John E. Nickols
Gladys E. H. Hosmer	Roland Robbins
Walter Harding	Rev. Arthur Schoenfeldt
Dorothea K. Harrison	Ruth R. Wheeler
Randolph Jackson	Howard Zahniser
Truman Nelson	

SAVE WALDEN COMMITTEE

ENDORSERS

Brooks Atkinson	John P. Marquand
Van Wyck Brooks	Samuel Eliot Morison
Kenneth W. Cameron	Norman T. Newton
Henry Seidel Canby	Odell Shepard
Walter Gropius	Alvin G. Whitney

Society Here Enters Fight To Preserve Walden Pond

Hartford Courant
11/3/57

The fight for preservation of Thoreau's Walden Pond in Massachusetts received support in Hartford last week.

The executive committee of the Emerson Society of America, meeting at Trinity College, voted to support the efforts of the Thoreau Society in "preserving the Walden of Emerson and Thoreau, its shores and woodlands."

Began In July

The fight to preserve Walden Pond began last July after bulldozers began to plow down trees to make way for a public beach.

Three weeks ago the Thoreau Society succeeded in getting an injunction to prohibit any further movement on the part of the Middlesex County Commissioner to build a road and a bathhouse on Walden Pond.

Backers of the "Preserve Walden Pond" movement plan to present a bill to the Massachusetts legislature to take the administration of the Walden Pond and property away from Middlesex County and put it in the hands of the State Department of Natural Resources.

The Emerson and Thoreau societies claim the construction of a road and bathhouse violate the terms under which the State of Massachusetts accepted the tracts of land from the Forbes and Emerson families.

Dr. Kenneth W. Cameron, associate professor of English at Trinity College and editor of the Emerson Society Quarterly, said "Emerson and Thoreau were given Walden Pond as a memorial appropriate to their work and teaching. The little hut hidden among trees surrounding blue water has become symbolic of adventurous living for thousands of literate Americans.

"A Pond without its trees, with altered shore line, modern roadways and obtrusive bath houses is the invention of Philistines," Dr. Cameron said.

The preservation movement has also received support from several other Connecticut people including two well - known authors, former Lt. Gov. Odell Shepard of Jordan Cove, formerly of Trinity and Henry Seidel Canby of Killingworth.

Thoreau Group Meets Today in Walden Fight

CONCORD, July 16—The Thoreau Society's Committee to Save Walden meets tomorrow night to consider how to halt the $50,000 beach-and-road project at historic Walden Pond.

The committee today sought legal counsel to seek an injunction against Middlesex County and have an unspent $40,700 placed in escrow to help re-

[Continued on next page.]

Could It Come to This?

To the Editor—I did this drawing in the hope that it would add a little help to the persons who are trying to save Walden Pond.

An appropriate title might be, "COULD IT COME TO THIS?"

Many, many thanks for the wonderful moments I spend with the Globe.

HOUSTON E. BIRD.
Cambridge.

Perhaps some day we, who produced Walden and then turned Walden Pond into a bathing beach, will learn that noise is not happiness.

Boston Daily Globe
August 2, 1957.

store "the Walden of Emerson and Thoreau."

Chairman Thomas B. Brennan of the Middlesex County commissioners said it has thus far cost $9300 to cut a winding road to the partially bulldozed 400-foot beach area below Walden st.

The hewing of an estimated square mile of oak and pine trees and the major change in Walden's shoreline by the large-scale project are condemned as "desecration" by many Concord residents.

A committee spokesman, Salem author Truman Nelson, said the group is studying how Walden—where Henry Thoreau wrote his world-famous books—may be placed under the National Park Service.

Derby Wharf Cited

Mrs. Herbert B. Hosmer of 22 Elm st., another member, went to Salem to investigate how ancient Derby Wharf is administered under the Federal program.

The National Park Service cares for many national shrines, including Harper's Ferry, Independence Hall and much of Philadelphia, and all the battlefields of the Civil War.

The Save Walden Committee, set up Saturday by 400 members of the Thoreau Society here, also will send a letter many prominent Americans hoping to enlist their aid in the fight to "end the destruction of a national shrine."

Some members of the committee seek not only to stop the present Middlesex County construction work, but to restore the woods and terrain, exactly as they were.

Mrs. Caleb Wheeler, news editor of the Concord Journal, said the county commissioners made a major mistake when they did not consult the state's Department of Natural Resources on the original project.

She commented that also being considered was a request for legislation to turn Walden Pond State Reservation—owned by the state but run by the county—over to state administration alone.

Can Transfer It

Commissioner Francis W. Sargent of the Department of Natural Resources said any such park or reservation under local or county authority could be transferred to his department.

Sargent said a bill before the State Court earlier in this session called for such transferals of a dozen state parks, including Walden Pond.

"I did not push for that bill," said Sargent, "because I did not want my department to give the impression it was trying to make any grabs."

The commissioner said that, if such changes were to be made, "I hope that they will come due to a local grass-roots demand."

The Save Walden Committee indicated it might press for proper legislation.

BOSTON DAILY GLOBE

JULY 17, 1957

Thoreau Group Calls on County To Halt Project

By RAY RICHARD

CONCORD, July 17—The Thoreau Society's Committee to Save Walden voted tonight to ask the Middlesex County Commission to halt the beach project at historic Walden Pond and restore what has been "destroyed" — or the committee will seek a court injunction.

An emergency session of the committee was held in the home of Mrs. Herbert B. Hosmer of 22 Elm st., vice president of the society. It was attended by three others of the group.

The committee engaged Atty. Frederick Fisher of Boston, law partner of Atty. Joseph Welch, who defended the Army in the McCarthy-Army hearings, to advise them on a course of action.

Fisher will lask the Middlesex county commissioners to stop any more "destruction and havoc to this international shrine" and restore the area to the condition before the beach project was started.

The meeting was attended by Truman Nelson of Salem, author; John E. Nickols of Concord, architect; Mrs. Caleb Wheeler of Concord, news editor of the weekly Concord Journal; and Mrs. Hosmer.

A fifth member of the committee, Roland Robbins of Lincoln, archeologist, was out of town.

Committee Confident

Although committee members were confident the project could be halted in the courts, they appealed to the commissioners to avoid this contest.

But this appeared unlikely. Chairman Thomas B. Brennan of the commission said he knows of no way to restore what already has been accomplished on the construction project.

He declared the commissioners had lived up to the conditions of the deed which stated that the pond can be used "for boating, bathing, fishing and picnicking."

He added that they have preserved the "Walden of Emerson and Thoreau," as the deed requires.

The land was deeded to the Commonwealth in 1922 and placed in the hands of the Midlesex County Commission.

At the meeting of the Save Walden Committee, Nelson said that by replacement of the damaged woodlands "we don't mean to restore it so that it looks like a well kept grave."

"We want put back all the indigenous trees that were there, such as oaks and pines, and we want these arranged in a rustic manner," he said.

The efforts of the committee, appointed last month by the outgoing society president, Herbert Lanhiser of Washington, appeared to be snowballing.

Mrs. Hosmer said she had received telephone calls from all over New England, supporting the committee position.

Among letters received was one from Prof. Carl J. Friedrich of Harvard, who is in Germany. He wrote that he was "deeply shocked about this desecration of a world shrine."

"New Battle of Bulge?"

Nelson told the meeting that one of the most objectionable features of the project is that it will allow accommodations for motorboats brought in on tops of autos.

"If that is permitted, people who come to Walden to contemplate nature and infinity, will think it another Battle of the Bulge," he said.

Mrs. Wheeler described it as one of America's few monuments to a peaceful man.

Nickols said that one problem is that the state is not providing enough recreational facilities to satisfy the "urban sprawl."

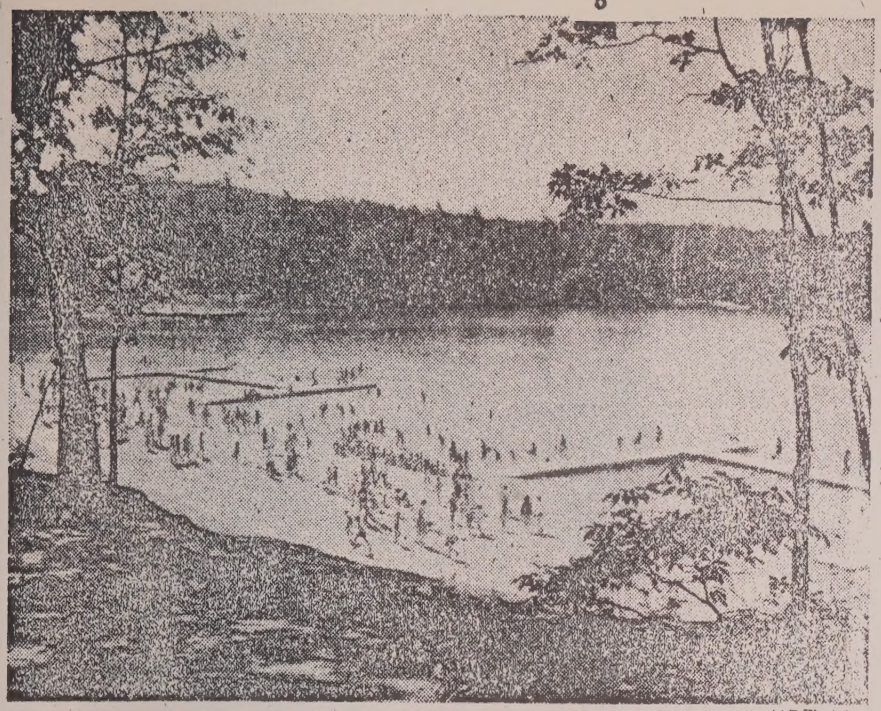
He said other communities will be faced with the same problem as Concord.

trasted to the homes and monuments of other literary figures, he declared.

"This assault on our international shrine must be corrected for the sake of America's reputation as a cultural nation.

"This is the only literary shrine in America that is living," as con-

BOSTON DAILY GLOBE—THURSDAY, JULY 18, 1957



(AP Photo)

NEW WALDEN POND BEACH—Bathers crowd new beach at the Concord pond where further construction is being protested by the Thoreau Society.

(Globe Photo by Jack O'Connell)

SEEK TO PRESERVE THOREAU'S WALDEN—Leaders of the Thoreau Society studying plans and blueprints of work being done at Walden Pond during meeting last night. From left, Truman Nelson of Salem, John E. Nickols, Mrs. Caleb Wheeler and Mrs. Herbert B. Hosmer, all of Concord.

Boston Traveler,
July 11, 1957.

WALDEN POND AT CONCORD, made world-famous through the writings of Henry David Thoreau. A section of the bathing area is shown at left and at right is cairn marking the spot where Thoreau, shown in inset, had a small cabin in which he lived in solitude for two years.

Listed in the National Register of Historic Places

Walden Pond

Boston Traveler, Thursday, July 11, 1957

Plan Increased Facilities For RecreationAread

By RICK VAHAN

"I never found the companion that was so companionable as solitude."

Thus was the thought of Henry David Thoreau 112 years ago as he sat on the shore of Walden Pond in Concord.

Today, a rock cairn in a secluded nook is all that echoes this sentiment.

But soon the words will ring again to anything but solitude.

A replica of Thoreau's hermit hut will be built at the original site.

And Old Stagecoach Rd., running along either side of the pond, will be restored and open to foot traffic.

The project is part of a 20-year program by the Middlesex County commissioners, who administer the Walden Pond State Reservation.

The pond has become a historic site because of Thoreau's connection with it more than 100 years ago.

He lived in a hut on the shores of Walden while writing "Walden," one of the great pieces of literature to come out of 19th century New England.

The pond also is known as one of the best fresh water fishing and swimming spots in the state.

The overall program includes extension and improvement of beach facilities.

A picnic area is planned and improvement of facilities for fishermen is also in the works.

A reforestation program at the pond calls for planting "thousands" of trees all over the reservation.

The problem of erosion of the pond's banks will be tackled, the commissioners said.

The three commissioners who initiated the program are Chairman Thomas B. Brennan (D-Medford), William G. Andrew (R-Cambridge) and Edward L. Buckley (D-Somerville).

Party differences have not entered into the planning for Walden Pond.

The three agreed, for example, that the bipartisan efforts of the legislative Committee on Counties made the program possible.

The Committee on Counties is headed by Sen. Charles E. Ferguson (R-Lexington) and Rep. Charles A. Mullaly Jr. (D-Millville).

The committee approved additional funds for the improvement.

The commissioners also credited two other legislators with giving major support to the bill for the program.

They are Reps. James DeNormandie (R-Lincoln) and John M. Eaton Jr. (R-Concord).

The plan for Walden provides for enlarging the general swimming beach by 150 per cent.

Improvements also are for the section reserved for women and children.

Work has begun on the beach for the water safety program.

The Phil Rando Co. of Lincoln was awarded the contract on its $9,300 bid.

It includes levelling a section of the hillside for additional parking space, construction of a foot road down the slope to the water and installation of removable piers.

The grading of this phase of the program will be the only major topographical change at Walden, the commissioners said.

Chairman Brennan said the pond will not have to be closed during the improvement work.

Nor will high water cause a shutdown, he said.

Walden Pond was closed to swimmers most of the last two swimming seasons because high water made it unsafe.

"We think we know 'the secret' of Walden Pond now," Brennan said.

"But we don't want to say anything more about it yet. Not until we're more certain."

He said knowledge of "the secret" should make possible control of the pond's water level for the first time.

For the fishermen, especially those with boats, things will be much better, too.

One parking and boat launching area will be made for motorists bringing boats in on their car roofs.

A separate parking and launching facility will be available for those with boat trailers.

Brennan said no commercial enterprises will be allowed on the reservation, in accordance with the deed to the property.

"We're interested in providing a safe, peaceful, comfortable place for recreation," he said. "And we intend to keep it the only completely free reservation in the state."

To maintain these increased facilities, Brennan said, more personnel will be needed.

He said he hoped the reservation could eventually have six men working full-time year-round on maintenance of buildings, woods and grounds.

Construction of the Thoreau hut should be a boon to sightseers.

Hundreds come to the pond from all over the world to see the site of the hut.

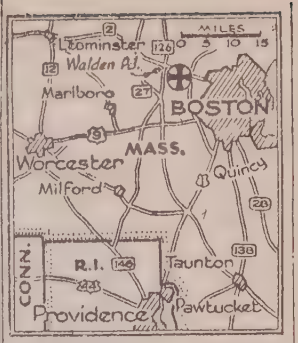
With a replica of the hut there, Walden would very likely become a more popular historic site and a mecca for Thoreau's admirers.

Storm Is Rising Over Pond Where Thoreau Meditated

NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JULY 21, 1957.

Keith Martin for The New York Times

Some citizens of Concord, Mass., are set for a fight to prevent further bulldozing and the building of road at this point beside Walden Pond, where Henry David Thoreau stayed.



The New York Times July 21, 1957

Walden Pond (cross).

A BATTLE RAGES AT WALDEN POND

Thoreau Society Protests Bulldozers Carving Out a New Beach There

By JOHN H. FENTON

Special to The New York Times.

CONCORD, Mass., July 20—Citizens of this village, whose ancestors fought battles for political independence, are girding for a new fight to protect a shrine of cultural independence. The shrine, in a sylvan setting, is Walden Pond, immortalized in literature by Henry David Thoreau.

On the sixty-ninth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1845, Thoreau began a two-year experiment of living a life reduced to its essentials among the glades around Walden Pond.

In "Walden, Or Life In The Woods," a collection of philosophical observations, Thoreau wrote:

"While men believe in the infinite, some ponds will be thought to be bottomless."

He also wrote:

"There are a thousand hacking at the branches of evil to one who is striking at the root."

Bulldozers at Work

Those words were recalled as bulldozers, uprooting trees to create a new beach at Walden, have aroused members of the Thoreau Society of Concord against what they term a "desecration" of the spot. Moreover, even the contour of the pond is being changed, they have charged.

The bulldozers were sent in by the Middlesex County commissioners as part of a $50,000 project to restore the reservation. The commissioners are an elected body of three men who function as a super-government for the several communities within the county.

Under the terms of an agreement by which Walden became a public reservation in 1922, the commissioners were made the official overseers. The gift was made possible by the Emerson, Forbes and Heywood families of Concord.

The Thoreau Society members hold that the commissioners have failed "to preserve the Walden of Emerson and Thoreau, its shores and woodlands," as specified in the gift agreement.

Commissioner Dissents

But Thomas B. Brennan, chairman of the county commissioners, disagrees. He, too, is a muser in Walden.

"Often, when I have a problem I go to Walden, taking a couple of my pipes to puff on while I stroll through the woods," he said today. "And when I come out my problem is usually solved."

Walden Pond covers sixty-four of a total of about 140 acres of an oak-and-pine-shaded plot near the junction of state Routes 2 and 126. Part of it borders on the town of Lincoln.

As a literary shrine, it has been visited by thousands of students on annual pilgrimages. A stone cairn, off one of the wooded paths, marks the site of the shack in which Thoreau lived during his self-imposed solitude.

With the rapid movement of population into the suburbs, Walden has become increasingly popular as a summer bathing resort. A bathhouse and diving pier have been there for more than twenty years. Boating is limited to oared vessels.

In the interests of water safety, the Concord Red Cross chapter asked if a separate area might be provided for the instruction of children. Classes are held for several weeks in the early summer.

The stretch of shore chosen, near the general bathing area, is at the bottom of a steep bank. In order to provide access for service trucks and possibly an ambulance, the commissioners had an N-shaped road bulldozed through the woods from Route 126.

That was when a Committee to Save Walden was formed last week. The prime movers were Mrs. Herbert Buttrick Hosmer, vice president of the Thoreau Society; Mrs. Caleb Wheeler, news editor of The Concord Journal, a weekly newspaper, and John E. Nickols, an architect.

They have retained Frederick G. Fisher Jr., a Boston lawyer, to represent them in any possible legal action, such as a petition for a restraining order to prevent further work on the project.

Mr. Fisher has been granted a hearing before the county commissioners on Monday at 1 P. M.

Commissioner Brennan has given assurance that trees would be replaced and sod and grass seed used to cover up what he acknowledged was a raw-looking cut in the woods.

It is the sort of a situation that may have counterparts elsewhere, but rarely with the historic overtones that are heard in New England. A somewhat similar situation prompted the State Department of Public Works to rebuild the Revolutionary battle bridge at Concord with wood instead of reinforced concrete.

The officers and executive committee members of the Thoreau Society meeting in Concord, Massachusetts, July 12, 1957, unanimously adopted the following statement:

The officers and members of the executive committee of the Thoreau Society convening for the Society's 1957 annual meeting have visited Walden Pond and have noted with deep concern the drastic changes recently made in the woodland shores of the Pond, and have also recalled that in giving the land around Walden to the Commonwealth in 1922 the members of the Forbes and Emerson families stated in their deeds that it was "the sole and exclusive purpose of the conveyance to aid the Commonwealth in preserving the Walden of Emerson and Thoreau, its shores and woodlands, for the public who wish to enjoy the pond, the woods, and nature."

Realizing that this purpose requires the most careful cherishing of the natural features of the area and the most deliberate and well considered planning and administration of the area's services for the public, the officers and executive committee members of the Society have voted to urge such policies upon the public officials charged with the custody of Walden Pond and express an eagerness to cooperate in every way possible with these officials for the preservation and best use of Walden, its shores, and woodlands.

New Echoes Rend Solitude at Walden Pond

Hartford Times August 10, 1957

Thoreau Haven a Bedlam

By MAUDE KINNIER

I insisted on going to Walden Pond. We were in Concord, so near the spot where the author-philosopher Henry David Thoreau went to "live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life"; where, amid the pines and birches and sumacs, he spent his days in "undisturbed solitude and stillness while the birds sang around and flitted noiseless through the house."

I knew the house was no longer there, and I had heard bulldozers had scooped out a public bathing beach at the pond. Joe, my husband, said we had better save our illusions and our gasoline; but I wanted to see the spot in spite of obstacles and changes. I won; we went.

The first obstacle was a bar across the path leading from the highway to Thoreau's cairn. Nailed to a nearby tree was the second: a keep out sign posted by the Massachusetts State Park Commission because of forest fire danger in the tinder-dry woodlands.

I saw fresh footprints on the little path and thought I heard twigs snapping in the dense undergrowth; so I climbed through the bars, leaving my law-abiding husband in the car. I stalked determinedly down the trail, hoping I could persuade any warden I met that there was nothing destructive or incendiary about me.

Around a bend in the path I came upon three workers clearing away fallen branches, and they assured me it was all right to enter—which was comforting, considering that I had already done so.

• • •

AROUND A BEND was a sheltered cove —the same "deep green well", surrounded as in Thoreau's day with trees and shrubs reflected in the still waters. A narrow path led away from the pond to a heap of stones and low concrete posts which marked the site of Thoreau's tiny cabin and woodshed. The birds called from the deep recesses of the forest, and the companionable solitude surrounded me as it had encompassed the nature writer over 100 years ago. One long, sweet note from a distance might well have been the timeless echo of Thoreau's own flute.

I walked to the margin of the lake—112 lady-sized steps—and there encountered two small boys in abbreviated bathing trunks wading in the shallow water.

"Been swimming?" I asked.

"No. Just going," one of them answered. "The beach is around the bend."

"Oh?" I asked "Is it a good beach?"

"Yes!" he exclaimed enthusiastically. "It's real good! There are diving boards and bath houses and hot dog stands. And there's a brand new part just finished, with places for little children who can't swim. The Cub Scouts are there now having a swimming lesson. You oughta see!"

"Yes," I agreed without enthusiasm.

"It's not far. You could go with us around the lake if you didn't have shoes."

"So I could," I answered regretfully. "Guess I'll have to take the road instead."

I went back through the woods to where my husband waited, parked between Thoreau's solitude and the heavy traffic of the highway.

• • •

THE LITTLE BOYS were right, it wasn't far. In the twinkling of an eye and the rounding of a curve we went from quiet to chaos.

A trailer camp on one side of the highway dazzled us with its colorful collection of deluxe homes on wheels. On the other side a parking area was filled with cars, and a garish sign informed us we had reached "Walden Breezes". A refreshment stand was dispensing hot dogs and cold drinks to eager noisy customers clad in bizarre bathing suits I walked down a concrete ramp to the beach below. The trees along the path were hung with wet bathing suits and towels, and the grass had long since perished under the trampling of hundreds of feet.

Skirting a row of bathhouses that partially obscured the lake, I reached the beach —at least I think it was a beach. The people, like the cars, were parked bumper to bumper; so it was impossible to see the sand beneath them. However, I could tell that the bulldozers had done a very efficient job because there were acres of human being where the trees and shrubs had been cleared away.

I listened to the din and out of some recess of my mind came Thoreau's question "What company has that lonely lake, pray?" What company, indeed! I looked over the heads of the crowds jostling each other along the shore, past the waters churned into foam by shrieking bathers, and saw the newly created section of the beach stretching like a writhing tentacle almost to the woodland which marked the beginning of Thoreau's secluded haven.

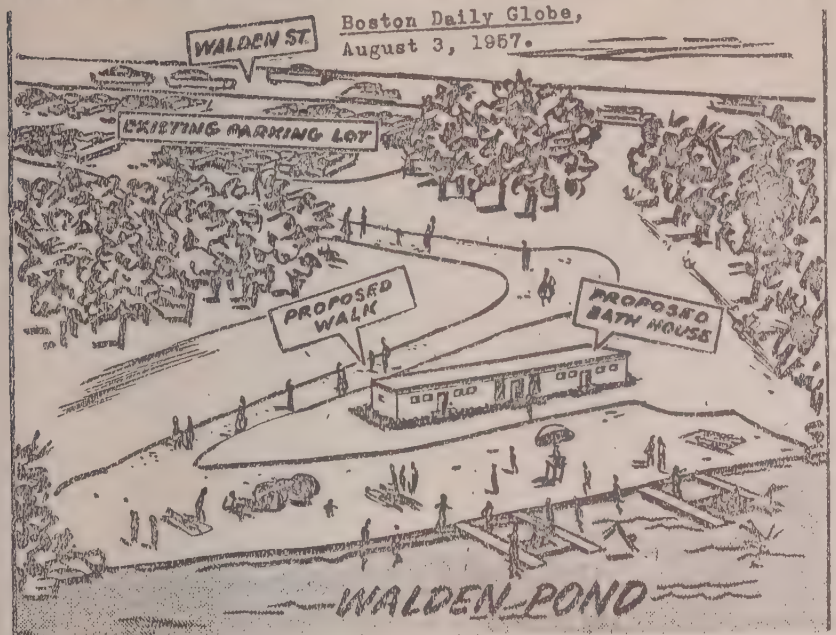
How long would it be before this same destruction reached the bend and envelope the writer's quiet cove in its greedy grasp?

I turned quickly and almost ran up the littered path to where my husband waited —observing, he said, the primitive life in the parked cars surrounding him.

"Have you seen enough?" he asked.

"Yes," I answered in a voice of quiet desperation. "I've seen enough."

Walden Pond-Side Parley To Decide on Bathhouse



Boston Daily Globe,
August 3, 1957.

CONCORD, Aug. 2—Architect Walter Gropius and other experts will meet tomorrow at Walden Pond with Middlesex County officials to consult on a proposed $25,000 bathhouse.

Gropius, chosen by the Save Walden Committee, tonight called the present plans to enlarge shore facilities at Walden "out of scale and partly spoiling its natural beauty."

Other committee experts will be Norman T. Newton, professor of landscape architecture, Harvard Graduate School of Design, and Henry Bugbee Kane of Lincoln, nature author and on the administrative staff at M.I.T.

DISPUTED AT WALDEN POND—Shown above is an artist's conception of controversial $50,000 beach-and-road project at Walden Pond. The 100-foot reinforced concrete bathhouse, due for construction soon, will be discussed today.

THE ORDEAL OF WALDEN

July 17, 1957

The citizens of Concord, whose ancestors fired the shot heard 'round the world with unforgotten consequences, have now metaphorically fired another. Its reverberations, let us hope, will be heeded 'round the Commonwealth. For Concord has mustered to defend against mutilation by bulldozer and power saw, nothing less than the woodland site of Henry David Thoreau's cabin on Walden Pond—one of the most famed cultural shrines in our nation.

Fortified by a request for improved bathing facilities at Walden, by an appropriation quietly and speedily approved a year ago in the Legislature, equipped with plans that envisage transformation of the world-renowned site into an expanded recreation center, the County Commissioners have begun their reconstruction program.

This has already entailed substantial devastation of the woodlands. When it is completed, Walden will bear as little resemblance to the region immortalized by Thoreau's masterpiece as will a holiday beach concourse.

How can this program be reconciled with deeds of gift which bestowed the shrine on the Commonwealth, stipulating that the object was to "preserve the Walden of Emerson and Thoreau, its shores and woodlands?"

* * *

Concord's indignation is understandable. It is, unhappily, focussed upon but the climactic chapter of a long, drab chronicle of disfigurement. Last week the Indian Ambassador, visiting the spot, faced a disordered landscape littered with paper, pop bottles, and the debris of picnics, its paths gouged by erosion.

Why do we permit such desecration of our cherished heirlooms? How does it happen that the cultural bequests of our yesterdays, which draw reverent thousands each year from the ends of the earth, are so lightly subjected to pleas of overriding expediency and disfigurement?

Or, on the lowest level: Why does the Commonwealth allow ducks and drakes to be played with the foundations of a tourist business valued at close to a quarter of a billion dollars a year? For make no mistake: The primary lure to such visitors is precisely the memorials to be found in such communities as Boston, Concord, Sudbury and a few of our other towns.

The error of the Middlesex County Commissioners at Walden was not one of intent, but one of judgment. To develop and clean up Walden is a commendable aim. The difficulty stems from their having confused the idea of an historic or cultural shrine with the idea of a recreation center for mass bathing and boating. The two are compatible only when the primary symbolism is not engulfed by efforts to overdo secondary ones. That is what is happening to Walden.

* * *

The question is: How to rectify the mistake? To that there are several answers. Walden being primarily a state responsibility, one of these would be to end a situation which finds no single state agency clearly responsible for the proper supervision and policed maintenance of such shrines: The Natural Resources Department, for instance.

Pending in a committee of the Senate is the Historic Districts bill, already passed by the House. Enacted, this would enable every town so disposed to create a local historic districts commission subject to the town meeting, which would make recommendations to the town for designating historic areas. Such a step in Concord could eventually enable the community to work in close cooperation with the authorities of the Commonwealth to restore Walden.

For such projects Federal funds are available. Or Concord could set up its own fund. This could lead to eventual acquisition of properties needed for re-establishing Walden in its original peaceful beauty, keeping recreation features subordinated.

Meantime other communities should heed the lesson of Concord's dilemma. Cultural shrines do not survive by themselves.

UNCLE DUDLEY.

CONSULTING ARCHITECTS—John E. Nickols, left, Concord architect and member of the Save Walden Committee, confers with architect and designer Walter A. Gropius, who is serving on a panel of experts to advise the Middlesex County Commissioners on future development of Walden Pond.

County Official Says State Bids To Usurp Walden

Thomas B. Brennan, chairman of the Middlesex County Commissioners and chief target of irate citizens who oppose the new beach project at Walden Pond, last night charged the Department of Natural Resources with attempting to "take over" Walden Pond.

He also leveled a blast at a member of the "Save Walden Committee" for claiming that taxpayers barred from swimming in the new beach area are being cheated.

Aroused by a statement by an assistant to the Commissioner of Natural Resources that the department would not be averse to incorporating the supervision of Walden into the state system of public reservations, Brennan retorted that the department "has been trying to take over Walden Pond for years, while they already have more than they can take care of properly."

James E. Healey, assistant to Commissioner of Natural Resources Francis W. Sargent, in an address before the Thoreau Society's "Save Walden Committee Saturday, told the group that the department "is not averse" to incorporating the historic pond into the state system of public reservations.

This would be done, he said, "with the full recognition of Walden's historical and recreational significance."

Has Set of Plans

A bill to do this was prepared for the Legislature in February but was dropped, Healey affirmed. With national and worldwide attention now being devoted to Walden, public interest may revive the bill, he said.

Healey said the Natural Resources Department has a complete set of plans for the care and rehabilitation of the pond.

"The department has always had a deep interest in Walden," he told the group.

This interest was confirmed by Brennan last night. He charged that the department "has been grabbing up things piecemeal quietly, and have had their eye on Walden for years."

Only his vehement opposition kept the bill mentioned by Healey from going through, Brennan said.

"They have more now than they can take care of properly. Let them stay in their own backyard. We're taking good care of Walden and that's our sole interest."

Blistering Comment

A charge yesterday by John E. Nickols of Concord, a member of the "Save Walden Committee" that taxpayers are being "cheated" by not being allowed to swim at the new beach drew a blistering comment from Brennan.

"That area is not needed for swimming," he said. "It was set aside for teaching youngsters water safety. When the program is over on Aug. 20 then adults can use it for sunbathing, but not for swimming.

"It was not intended for swimming. We can use other areas for additional swimming."

Brennan charged Nickols with being, along with other members of the committee, "far off the beam on a good many issues."

Nickols earlier had said that the regular beach area at Walden Pond was crowded with bathers yesterday and those who attempted to use the new beach area were prevented from doing so by guards.

"They're taxpayers, and they paid for the beach, and they're being cheated by not being allowed to use it," he said.

Architect and planner Walter A. Gropius, who is serving on a panel of experts to offer suggestions to the Middlesex County Commissioners on future development of Walden Pond, conferred with Nickols yesterday morning.

The two perused a map of the Walden Pond area, and Nickols "briefed" Gropius on the situation.

Thoreau Group and County Board At Odds on Walden Meeting Site

CONCORD, July 19—**The Fisher, has charged that the Thoreau Society's Save Walden Middlesex commissioners have Committee and the Middlesex never shown publicly their de-**County Commissioners are at **tailed plans for Walden's** odds about where they'll meet **future.** Monday to discuss the $50,000 Walden Pond beach project.

The irate Concord group wants the commissioners, who headed the project, to journey to Walden to reveal their future plans for the historic site of Henry Thoreau's hut.

The committee, with its legal counsel, Atty. Frederick G.

John E. Nickols, Concord architect, said last night that Chairman Thomas Brennan of the commission had agreed to a 1:30 p.m. Monday meeting with the group.

WALDEN POND

Boston Daily Globe,
July 29, 1957

"They want us to go to their offices in Cambridge," said Nickols, "but we want them to come to Walden Pond, the scene of devastation, to show us their ideas firsthand."

Comm. Brennan said last night: "If they come to the office, we'll meet with them. If not, it's up to them."

He said that he and his colleagues were "too busy" this week to make a trip to Walden Pond, but did not rule out a future trip.

Studies Transfer

Atty. Fisher of the Boston law firm of Hale & Dorr is now investigating the terms of transfer of land around Walden by the Emerson, Forbes and Heywood families to the state in 1922.

The Committee to Save Walden claims that the county commissioners have violated that agreement to maintain "the Walden of Emerson and Thoreau, its shores and woodlands."

Another committee member, Salem author and historian, Truman Nelson, is reviewing the published letters of Emerson, to try to discover the intention of the family as to Walden's future.

The committee also gathers Sunday at the home of Mrs. Herbert B. Hosmer, 22 Elm st., with Atty. Fisher to discuss possible legal action.

Nickols said they would also consider many proposals pouring into the committee concerning Walden's future. One plan is for the pond to become a national monument, but this will require an act of Congress, since it is not solely historical.

Nickols said that the committee position is that the Middlesex County commissioners "have shown total incapacity to manage Walden Pond."

'Save Walden' Group to Get Court Hearing

Globe 9/14/57

The Save Walden Committee yesterday won a hearing in Middlesex Superior Court for its bill of complaint against the Middlesex County Commissioners on the $50,000 Walden Pond beach project.

Judge Edmund R. Dewing, in equity session, allowed a preliminary petition by the group and set next Friday for the hearing.

The petitioning group also presented the court with a photostatic copy of the original deed by which Walden Pond and its surrounding area were given to the Commonwealth by Concord families in 1922.

Committee spokesman John E. Nichols, Concord architect, said the case would partly be based on the deed, which called for the preservation of "the Walden of Emerson and Thoreau, its shores and woodlands."

Other petitioners included Caleb H. Wheeler, Emilie W. Peters, Herbert Hosmer and Dorothea K. Harrison, all of Concord; Warren A. Sherk and Helen Robinson Wright, Watertown; Helen W. Marden, Weston; Dr. A. Warren Stearns, Billerica, and Russel E. Kettell, Lexington.

Seldom-used Statute

The unprecedented action was brought under a seldom-used statute by which Massachusetts provides that either 10 taxpayers or the attorney general can bring a preliminary petition for the purpose of the enforcing of a gift.

The petition asked the court that an injunction be issued restraining the county commissioners from "altering or destroying the shore and nearby woodlands of Walden Pond by the erection of bathhouses and the construction of paved roadways to the shore."

It further asks that the commissioners be ordered to "observe the terms, conditions and purposes of the gifts and conveyances of real estate bordering the pond."

Approximately $10,000 has been spent thus far for the beach-and-road project, planned by Commissioners Thomas B. Brennan of Medford, William G. Andrew, Cambridge, and Edward L. Buckley, Somerville.

Middlesex Officials Agree to Talk With Experts on Thoreau

The Middlesex County Commissioners yesterday agreed to consult with experts recommended by the Thoreau Society's Save Walden Committee before ordering further projects at Walden Pond.

Within 10 days the Walden committee will submit a list of 25 conservationists, historians and other experts who "are imbued with the spirit of Thoreau and Emerson."

The conference at Middlesex County Courthouse in Cambridge was marked by salty exchanges, but ended in what Commissioner Thomas B. Brennan called "a spirit of cooperation."

The commissioners presumably will consult with the Thoreau Society's chosen experts on a $25,000 bathhouse to be erected in late August on the site of the disputed $50,000 beach project.

Committee member Truman Nelson of Salem said the Thoreau Society is "one hundred percent against such a bathhouse." But Brennan said an agreement had already been made with the Red Cross.

Conscience Only Guide

Commissioner William G. Andrew of Cambridge said he "wants the society to give us a mental image of what they think the Walden of Emerson and Thoreau looked like."

Both he and Commissioner Edward L. Buckley, along with Brennan, expressed their eagerness for assistance from the Thoreau Society to keep Walden Pond as much like Thoreau's time as possible.

Brennan asked the Save Walden Committee, "What is wrong with what we're doing up there?"

In response, the committee's counsel, Atty. Frederick G. Fisher Jr., requested: "Would the commissioners undo what has been done if we consider it wrong?"

"O, no, I have nothing to guide me but my conscience," replied Chairman Brennan.

Other committee members in attendance were John E. Nichols, Concord architect, and Randolph Jackson, Concord. Robert Bock of Wellesley, legal assistant to Fisher, also was present.

Landscape architect Benjamin W. Gary was brought by the committee to inspect the commissioners' plans at Walden Pond.

The Concord group was assured by Brennan that the sole purpose of the commissioners' 20-year program for Walden "is to preserve and restore—no Hollywood stuff."

No Legal Action Now

He said that he sought the Thoreau Society's advice on building a replica of Thoreau's hut near the Pond. The society, some of whose members oppose such a project, was noncommittal on that point.

Atty. Fisher said that the Save Walden group did not contemplate any legal action now, hoping that the commissioners' expressed cooperation, plus consultation with the society's experts, would solve the problem.

On this point, Andrew said, "If you think the commissioners are descrating something in American literature, stop it in court." He said he didn't think the group "would get very far."

The Save Walden Committee said, following the two-hour session, it hopes to announce its expert list within a week to 10 days.

THE BOSTON DAILY GLOBE—WEDNESDAY, JULY 24, 1957

What People Talk About

Leave Walden Pond as It Is; Nectar and Ambrosia for Spirit

To the Editor—The possibility that world-famous Walden Pond may be desecrated by presumed "improvements" is arousing substantial, and, we hope, effective protests. That "sketch" by Mr. Houston (Aug. 2 Globe), graphically described the fate very likely in store for what Henry D. Thoreau so succinctly called "God's Drop."

Let it remain as it is, nectar and ambrosia for the spirit and mind, and not become a Philistine's Paradise of "weenie roasts" and "hot dog stands."

Perhaps some real good may spring from the threatened evil. May it occasion a re-reading of "Walden" by those who have read it in the past, and the reading of it for the first time, by those who have never known that edifying pleasure.

Walden Pond owes its renown to the writings of Thoreau. He so praised its beauty that one would be tempted to think that no one had ever seen it before. As something fresh from the hand of God on the day of Creation. He made little Walden Pond better known, and more widely loved, than Lake Superior.

Yet Thoreau was not the first to appreciate Walden as a serene gem of purest water. Here's an extract from Nathaniel's Journal of Oct. 6, 1843:

"Walden Pond was clear and beautiful as usual. I was tempted to bathe; and though the water was thrillingly cold, it was like the thrill of a happy death. Never was there such transparent water as this. I threw sticks into it and saw them float suspended on an almost invisible medium. It seemed as if the pure air were beneath them as well as above. It is fit for Baptisms, but one would not wish it to be polluted by having sins washed into it."

Hawthorne entered the above in his Journal in 1843 and Thoreau didn't borrow an ax and start building his hut till July 4, 1845 (Independence Day in several senses). So we see that Thoreau was not the first to eulogize Walden, and let's recall, too, that Hawthorne was not a native Concordian, but a Salemite. Yet as far as the reading public was concerned, Thoreau was first, because his "Walden" saw the light of day in 1854, while Hawthorne's "American Notebooks" wasn't published till 1868.

Gild the lily? Paint the rose? "Improve" Walden?

Leave it as it is. It needs no justification by a meddlesome humanity. Emerson supplies us with a pat phrasing, "If eyes were made for seeing, then beauty has its own excuse for being."

Dorchester. C. R. CHARON.

Globe, Aug. 6, 1957

Boston Globe. July 26, 1957.

Walden Group Asks Red Cross To Oppose Beach

CONCORD, July 25—The Thoreau Society's Save Walden Committee will ask the American Red Cross to oppose completion of the controversial $50,000 beach project on the historic pond.

In a letter to national headquarters, the committee quotes the Middlesex county commissioners, with whom it met last Tuesday, as saying that the beach project was undertaken at the request of the Red Cross for its swimming program.

It asserts that the committee was told that plans for the project, "including the destruction of the trees, top soil and topography of the pond" had been examined and approved by the local Red Cross.

The national headquarters will be urged to "correct this infringement of a special and temporary program on general and permanent public and historical interest."

Major objections of the committee are to the removal of an estimated acre-and-a-half of trees, construction of a 300-foot graded, hairpin-curved road which descends deeply from Walden st. and erection of a building to accommodate bathers.

The latter, said one committee member, would be a 100-foot-long, one-story concrete block structure which he termed "totally unsuitable."

The Red Cross has conducted swimming classes at Walden for a number of years but moved to White's Pond last Summer when Walden was closed because of an abnormally high level of water.

Chairman Thomas B. Brennan of Middlesex commissioners said the project was advanced to permit the Red Cross to conduct classes this Summer.

Author Truman Nelson of the Save Walden Committee charged that the entire project duplicates present facilities, including a bath house about 100 feet from the site of the proposed structure.

He said he would urge Red Cross officials to withdraw their support from the project and join the committee in calling for the reseeding of the area, filling in of the road and planting of trees.

Architect John E. Nickols, committee member, said his group is in no way opposed to the use of the pond for Red Cross swimming classes or public bathing but is simply concerned with the maintenance of the historic site in its natural setting.

Committee members who signed the letter to the Red Cross, and who will meet Saturday in Concord to continue formation of their panel of experts, are Nelson, Nickols, Mrs. Caleb Wheeler, weekly newspaper editor; Mrs. Herbert Hosmer, Thoreau Society vice president and a Concord Red Cross director; Randolph Jackson and archeologist Rollins W. Robbins.

EMERSON'S GRANDSONS PROTEST IN NEW YORK TIMES, August 27, 1957.

Plans for Walden Protested

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The news is gradually spreading through the country that the County Commissioners of Middlesex County of Massachusetts are using their power by turning Walden Pond, which by many is considered a unique and even sacred place, into a resort for those of the public who think more of the body than of the soul. They are tearing down the trees and with a bulldozer are changing the character of the pond

to make an unsightly public recreation ground.

There are many people in the United States who, realizing what Concord means to this country and to the world, are rising to protest against this act of desecration of such a revered spot. The Thoreau Society is active in its opposition. Many citizens of Concord are joining with them.

Ralph Waldo Emerson owned a large part of the shore of Walden Pond, and on that land Thoreau built his hut. After Emerson's death his children gave a large part of his holdings to the State of Massachusetts as a memorial and a place for bathing and picnicking.

As three grandchildren of Emerson we wish to register our dismay at what is being done to the land which our family has given to the state. We hope that a protest will be made to the Governor, and that the desecration may be stopped.

W. CAMERON FORBES,
EDWARD W. FORBES,
ALEXANDER FORBES.

Woods Hole, Mass., Aug. 19, 1957.

London Times, Aug. 30, 1957. Sent to the Thoreau Society by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

The Gem of Concord

Memories come thick and fast at the news that Walden Pond, that "gem of the first water, which Concord wears in her coronet," is to be modernized as a bathing pool. THOREAU—an unlikeable man who did the most likeable things—made it famous. Who that has ever read it can forget his description of "The Ponds" and particularly of *the* pond? Here he fished, here he sat in the warm summer evenings playing the flute, "and saw the perch, which I seemed to have charmed, hovering around me, and the moon travelling over the ribbed bottom, which was strewed with the wrecks from the forest." Here, too, he would "raise the echoes by striking with a paddle on the side of my boat, filling the surrounding woods with circling and dilating sound, stirring them up as the keeper of a menagerie his wild beasts, until I elicited a growl from every wooded vale and hillside."

Great is the power of words, for most people who know anything about it at all believe THOREAU was alone in discovering the pond and proclaiming its beauties. Yet three years before he went to live there NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE had preceded him in recording its particular grace. On Monday, August 15, 1842, he wrote in his diary:—

> After leaving Mr. ——, we proceeded through woods to Walden Pond, picking blackberries of enormous size along the way. The pond itself was beautiful and refreshing to my soul, after such long and exclusive familiarity with our tawny and sluggish river. It lies embosomed among wooded hills—it is not very extensive, but large enough for waves to dance upon the surface, and to look like a piece of blue firmament, earth-encircled.

After EMERSON, who was with them, had left, HAWTHORNE and his friend HILLARD bathed in "the very purest liquid in the world," the bright waters washing away "a good deal of mud and river slime (that) had accumulated on my soul." But HAWTHORNE'S gifts were other than THOREAU'S, and *Walden* is better known than the *American Note-Books*.

Now a metalled road is being built where once the Indians, according to legend, caused the stones to roll down and pave the lakeside because of the profanity used at one of their powwows; a 100ft. long concrete bath house is to stand on the shores where once there was only THOREAU'S solitary cabin; and there are to be fewer trees to growl in future. But unless the ultra-hygienists have their way, the pond should at least be spared one thing. The purifying chemicals which make the average swimming pool of a colour Nature mercifully never thought of—that unnatural blue you see dotted about the north-eastern landscape of the United States as you fly over it—cannot be needed. All good luck to the defenders of Walden who are going into action against the local authority which is being so Philistinely utilitarian. If they lose could they not at least exact an undertaking that the price of using the pond should be the purchase of a copy of *Walden*? If even only a fraction read it, who can tell what might be the result?

LONDON
THE TIMES THURSDAY AUGUST 29 1957

A pencil sketch by Daniel Ricketson.

H. D. Thoreau as he presented himself at the door of Brooklawn, Dec. 25th, 1854

SWIMMING POOL AT WALDEN POND

THOREAU SOCIETY'S LEGAL ACTION

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

NEW YORK, AUG. 28

Walden Pond, in Concord, Massachusetts, a spot considered by many to be a unique and even sacred place because of its associations with Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry Thoreau, is now the centre of a controversy because of the decision of the local authorities to turn part of it into a swimming pool.

The Middlesex county commissioners, claiming to represent the interests of the local public, are proceeding with the construction of a metalled road and a 100ft. long concrete bath house intended to provide swimming facilities for local residents. This involves the tearing down of many trees and the use of a bulldozer to level the shore.

Yesterday three grandchildren of Emerson protested in a letter to the *New York Times* against this "desecration." They said Emerson owned a large part of the shore of Walden Pond and on that land Thoreau built his hut. After Emerson's death his children gave the larger part of his holding to the state of Massachusetts as a memorial and as a place for bathing or picnicking. Now the "Save Walden Committee" of the Thoreau Society is seeking a court order to restrain the Middlesex county commissioners from changing the character of the pond and making it "an unsightly public recreation ground."

THOREAU WITNESSES EMERSON PURCHASE LAND AT WALDEN

By KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

Professor Raymond Adams has discussed three of Emerson's land transactions involving Walden Pond in his delightful address, "Emerson's House At Walden."[1] What is not generally known is that Henry Thoreau usually was consulted at the time of purchase and subsequently surveyed each piece of property for a fee. One bit of evidence is the document now recorded in the Middlesex County Registry of Deeds, Book 473, pages 351-353. Another is in the Field Notes of Surveys Made by Henry D. Thoreau since November 1849, edited in my forthcoming Transcendental Climate.[2] Edward Waldo Emerson implies that his father's investments in the Walden shore line were aimed at achieving a harvest not unlike Thoreau's:

> The garden at home was often a hindrance and care, but he soon bought an estate which brought him unmingled pleasure, first the grove of white pines on the shore of Walden, and later the large tract on the farther shore running up to a rocky pinnacle from which he could look down on the Pond itself, and on the other side to the Lincoln woods and farms, Nobscot blue in the South away beyond Fairhaven and the river gleaming in the afternoon sun. It is of this that he wrote:—
>
> If I could put my woods in song
> And tell what's there enjoyed,
> All men would to my garden throng
> And leave the cities void.
>
> My garden is a forest ledge
> Which older forests bound;
> The banks slope down to the blue lake-edge,
> Then plunge to depths profound.
>
> Self-sown my stately garden grows;
> The wind, and wind-blown seed,
> Cold April rain and colder snows
> My hedges plant and feed.

Here follows the deed, executed while Thoreau was living in his hut:

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS That We Abel Moore and John Hosmer of Concord in the County of Middlesex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Yeomen, in consideration of Twelve hundred thirty nine dollars and fifty six cents to us paid by Ralph Waldo Emerson of said Concord, Clerk, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, do by these presents give grant bargain sell and convey unto the said Emerson all that certain tract or parcel of Land situate on the Southerly side of Walden Pond in the towns of Concord and Lincoln in said County containing according to the survey and plan of Cyrus Hubbard dated November 26th 1845 forty One acres and fifty one rods, bounded and described as follows to wit beginning at a stake and stones near the end of the fence of the Fitchburg Rail Road on Said Walden Pond, thence Easterly by the various angles on said pond to a stake and stones at land of the heirs of Abiel Heywood, thence by the following courses and angles by land of said heirs and by land of the heirs of Mary Heywood by stakes and stones and large rocks placed as bounds and marked trees: South Seven degrees West thirty five and a half rods, thence South thirty Eight degrees West two rods and Eighteen links thence due South Eight rods, thence South forty nine degrees West fourteen rods and ten links, thence South seventy degrees West five rods and ten links to a Yellow Oak tree marked, thence South forty and a half degrees West nine rods to a Walnut tree marked, thence South fifty nine degrees West Eight and a half rods to the pinacle of a ledge of rocks where three small Stones are placed, thence South Sixteen and a half degrees East seven rods and Eight links, thence South twenty four degrees East six and a half rods, thence South thirty degrees East six rods and fifteen links, thence South thirty four and a half degrees East Eight and a half rods, thence due South ten and a half rods, thence South thirty six degrees west Six rods to the end of an old Stone wall, thence South about fifty nine degrees west to granite post under the fence on the Fitchburg Rail Road, thence by the fence as it now Stands on the line of the Fitchburg Rail Road about One hundred and Eighteen rods to the bounds first mentioned. The above described promises being part of a tract of land formerly owned by Jonas Heywood deceased and lying north and East of the line of the Fitchburg Rail Road, ALSO all the right title and interest of the grantors in that part of Walden Pond and the land under the same included between two Straight lines drawn from the two first mentioned bounds to the Centre of Said Pond TO HAVE and to HOLD the above granted premises with the privileges and appurtenances thereto belonging to the said Ralph Waldo Emerson his heirs and assigns to his and their use and behoof forever. AND we the said Abel Moore and John Hosmer for ourselves and our heirs Executors and administrators do covenant with the said Ralph Waldo Emerson his heirs and assigns that we are lawfully seized in fee of the aforegranted premises, that they are free from all incumbrances, that we have good right to sell and convey the same to the said Ralph Waldo Emerson as aforesaid: and that we will and our heirs Executors and administrators will WARRANT and defend the same to the said Ralph Waldo Emerson his heirs and assigns forever against the lawful claim & demands of all persons IN WITNESS whereof we the said Abel Moore & John Hosmer, and Ruth Moore wife of said Abel, and Mary E H Hosmer wife of said John in token of the relinquishment of their right of dower in the above described premises have hereunto set our hands and Seals this twenty ninth day of November in the Year of our Lord Eighteen hundred and forty five.

ABEL MOORE Seal
JOHN HOSMER Seal
RUTH MOORE Seal
MARY ELIZA H HOSMER Seal

Signed Sealed and delivered in presence of Henry D Thoreau

[Recorded December 2, 1845. Affidavit taken before E. Rockwood Hoar.]

A page from Thoreau's Field Notes[4] deals with another of Emerson's Walden tracts:

3

R. W. Emerson

Woodlot and Meadow by Walden Pond — (That part contained within the Lincoln bounds) — the woodlot being a part of what was known in 1746 as Samuel Heywood's "pasture" and deeded by him as such, to his "son Jonathan Tainer."

Surveyed March 1850 with unusual accuracy.

Course of Town-line, as given on Town map, from stone by Walden Pond to stone by Fair Haven S 58° W 326 rods. Variation of the compass used in running the Town-line 5°54 W. Variation of my compass from that used in running the town-line 1°12' W; therefore var. of my compass from the true meridian 7°6' W.

Distances in fourrod chains and

1 See Thoreau Society Bulletin, No. 24 (July, 1948), pp. 3-7.
2 To appear in three volumes. Volume II is nearly ready for publication.
3 Emerson in Concord: A Memoir, Boston & N.Y., [1888], pp. 58-59.
4 Transcendental Climate, II, 416.

[1] SARAH THOREAU. Died Aug. 21, 1829. Will probated 1830:

Be it remembered, that I, Sarah Thoreau of Concord in the County of Middlesex Seamstress do ordain publish & declare this to be my last will & testament.

I give to the Trinitarian church in said Concord meaning the church of which Rev. Daniel S. Southmayd is Pastor, fifty dollars.

I give one hundred dollars to my brother John Thoreau, and I give fifty dollars to be equally divided between my sister Cynthia Thoreau, the wife of my said brother, & each of their children.

I give ten dollars each to my nieces Mary Ann Thoreau Billings, & Rebecca Jane Billings.

All the remainder of my estate real & personal whereever [sic] situate I give & devise in equal shares my Sisters Elizabeth Thoreau, Jane Thoreau, & Maria Thoreau, to hold to them their respective heirs executors & administrators.

All the above legacies are to be paid by my Executor in one year from my decease.

I nominate & appoint my brother John Thoreau to be sole Executor of this my last will & testament, revoking all former wills by me made.

In testimony whereof I hereto set my hand & seal this tenth day of April in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred & twenty nine.

Sarah Thoreau

Signed sealed, pronounced, & declared by said testatrix, to be her last will & testament, in presence of us, who in her presence, in the presence of each other, & at her request, set our names as witnesses.

Dan[l] Shattuck
John A Waterman
Samuel Hoar jun.

[Appeared in the Yeoman's Gazette on April 3, 10, 17, 1830:]

NOTICE is hereby given, that the subscriber has been duly appointed Executor to the last will and testament of SARAH THOREAU, late of Concord, in the county of Middlesex, seamstress, deceased, testate, and has taken upon himself that trust by giving bonds, as the law directs. All persons, having demands upon the estate of the said deceased, are required to exhibit the same; and all persons, indebted to the said estate, are called upon to make payment to

JOHN THOREAU, Exec'r.
Concord, Nov. 19, 1830 [sic]

[There is an interesting inventory of her estate prepared by Dan[l] Shattuck, Lemuel Shattuck and Phineas How, appraisers, recorded Feb. 9, 1830.]

[2] ELIZABETH (BETSY) THOREAU. Died November 15, 1839. Both of the following documents—the petition of Maria and the will itself—mention Henry David Thoreau along with the other heirs and assigns. H.D.T's father was the executor of this testament also.

To the Honorable the Judge of Probate and Insolvency in and for the County of Middlesex;

Respectfully represents Maria Thoreau of Concord, that Elizabeth Thoreau, late of said Concord, in the County of Middlesex, died on the 15th day of November, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and Thirty nine, who last dwelt in said Concord, possessed of goods and estate remaining to be administered, leaving ~~widow~~ and children, viz.: — John Thoreau, Jane Thoreau, Sophia E. Thoreau, Helen Louisa Thoreau and Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau, who are minors; whose names and residence are as follows, viz.: — John Thoreau, Jane Thoreau, Sophia E. Thoreau and Helen Louisa Thoreau children and heirs of Elizabeth Thoreau late of Concord in the County of Middlesex deceased intestate and Maria Thoreau and Jane Thoreau daughters of Jean Thoreau late of Boston in the County of Suffolk deceased intestate and Mary A. T. Lowell wife of Charles Lowell Esqr. of Boston in the County of Suffolk and Rebecca Jane Thatcher wife of George Thatcher of Brewer in the County of Penobscot and State of Maine and Helen Louisa Billings wife of William G. Billings of Concord aforesaid and Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau aforesaid the three last named being children of Cynthia Thoreau late of Concord aforesaid deceased intestate and Mary Ann Thoreau Billings daughter of William G. Billings of Concord aforesaid and wife of Rebecca Jane Thatcher aforesaid.

That said deceased left a Will, which is herewith presented, whereby your petitioner ~~is~~ named ~~executor~~

Wherefore your petitioner prays that said Will may be proved and allowed, ~~and letters~~

Maria Thoreau

In the name of God, Amen. I Elizabeth Thoreau of Concord county of Middlesex, gentlewoman, being of feeble health but of sound mind, do make, ordain, publish & declare this to be my last will and testament, namely,

1. I give & bequeath to my dear brother John Thoreau fifty dollars: and I give & bequeath to Cynthia Thoreau wife of my dear brother John Thoreau, and to each of their children, John Thoreau Jr. David Henry Thoreau, Helen Louisa Thoreau, and Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau, ten dollars each, to be paid by my executor within one year after my decease.

2. I give & bequeath to my neices [sic] Rebecca Jane Thatcher wife of George Thatcher now of Brewer, Maine, and also to Mary A. T. Lowell wife of Charles

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

MIDDLESEX ss. *At a Court of Probate holden at* Concord
in and for said County, on the Sixth *day of* March
in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ~~fifty~~ Sixty,

THE foregoing instrument, purporting to be the last will and testament of Elisabeth Thoreau late of Concord in said County of Middlesex, ~~Gentlewoman~~, deceased, having been duly presented for probate to the Judge of said Court, by Maria Thoreau of Boston, John Thoreau being dead

the executrix therein named; and the heirs at law and legatees of said deceased, and others interested in said estate, having been ~~cited and~~ duly notified of the time and place assigned for taking the same into consideration, and having assented to the Probate in writing, and Josiah Bartlett one

credible witness thereto, now appears before the Judge of said Court and makes oath that he saw the said testatrix sign, seal, and heard her pronounce, publish, and declare the said instrument to be her last will and testament and that he with William Gallup and John Wilder two other credible witnesses then also present, who are now absent, at the same time attested the same, and subscribed their names together as witnesses in the presence of the said testatrix and at her request, and that she was then, according to the best of their discernment, of sane mind and sound and disposing memory. Whereupon, no objections being offered, and the evidence touching the premises maturely considered, and all needful inquiries made, it appears to the Judge of said Court that the said instrument is — proved, and ought — to be allowed as the last will and testament of said deceased. It is therefore DECREED by the said Judge, that the same be — approved, — allowed, established, and recorded, and have full force and effect, as such accordingly, ~~and that the execution thereof be committed, and the administration of the estate of said deceased granted to the execut~~ above named, in manner and form by law in such case made and provided.

William A. Richardson, Judge of Probate and Insolvency.

Countersigned,

J. W. Tyler Reg.

18

Lowell now of Bangor Maine, each of them ten dollars, to be paid by my executor within one year after my decease.

3. I give and bequeath to the Trinitarian church in Concord of which I am a member, & of which Rev. John Wilder is now pastor, fifty dollars, to be used by them in such way as they may think expedient, & to be paid by my executor within one year from my decease.

4. The remainder of my property real and personal of every description, I give & bequeath to my two dear Sisters, Jane Thoreau and Maria Thoreau, in equal shares, to hold to them their respective heirs, executors & administrators.

5. I nominate and appoint my brother John Thoreau to be sole executor of this my last will and testament, revoking all former wills by me made. In testimony whereof I hereto set my hand and seal this Sixteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord Eighteen hundred & thirty eight.

Elisabeth Thoreau (L.S.)

[Witnessed by:] Josiah Bartlett, William Gallup and John Wilder

[For reasons unknown to me, the will was not probated until 1860!!!]

[3] JOHN THOREAU, H.D.T's brother, who died intestate January 12, 1842.

[4] HELEN L. THOREAU, H.D.T's sister, who died without an estate aged 36 years, June 14, 1849.

[5] JOHN THOREAU, father of H.D.T., who died intestate in 1859. Two of the following documents were composed by H.D.T. for his mother and sister.

To the Honorable William A. Richardson, Esquire, Judge of Probate and Insolvency, in and for the County of Middlesex.

THE Memorial of Henry D. Thoreau of Concord in said County,

Respectfully represents,

That John Thoreau, _____, who last dwelt in Concord in said County of Middlesex, within two months last died intestate, possessed of goods and estate to the amount of more than twenty dollars remaining to be administered, leaving a widow and two children, none of whom are minors,

Cynthia D. Thoreau, widow
Henry D. Thoreau &
Sophia E. Thoreau } children

~~That no Creditor is willing to administer on said estate.~~ That the said Memorialist is ready to give Bond, with sufficient sureties, for the due performance of said trust: Wherefore your Memorialist prays that he may be appointed Administrator on the estate of said deceased, in manner and form as the law in such case provides.

Henry D. Thoreau

The undersigned being all the parties interested in the foregoing Petition, desire the same may be granted.

Cynthia D Thoreau
Sophia E Thoreau

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Middlesex ss.

At a Probate Court, holden at Concord in and for said County, on the first day of March A. D. 1859.

THE foregoing Memorial being read and fully understood, and all needful inquiries made relative thereto, and all parties interested duly notified, it appears to me, the Judge of said Court, that the declarations therein contained are true, and that the Memorialist is a suitable person to be appointed to the said office of Administrator on said estate and is eligible thereto:

William A. Richardson *Judge of Probate and Insolvency.*

Concord Mass. Mar. 1859

To the Judge of Probate.

This may certify that I delegate to my son, Henry D. Thoreau, the right to administer the estate of my husband Henry Thoreau deceased.

Cynthia D. Thoreau

Concord Mar 1st 1859

To the Judge of Probate

This may certify that it is my desire that my brother Henry D. Thoreau be the administrator of my deceased father's estate.

Sophia E. Thoreau.

[6] JANE THOREAU. Will and codicil probated in 1864.

Be it remembered, that I Jane Thoreau, of Concord in the County of Middlesex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, being of perfect mind & memory, do on this fourteenth day of April in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred & sixty three, make and publish this my last will and testament——

I give and bequeath to Mary Ann Thoreau Lowell, wife of Charles Lowell, and to Rebecca Jane Thatcher, wife of George A Thatcher, my neices, twenty five Dollars each—

I give and bequeath to Louisa Dunbar, ten Dollars— I give and bequeath to Mrs. Mary F. Wilder of Cambridge, Mass. ten Dollars— I give and bequeath to Elizabeth Lowell, my neice, ten Dollars— I give and bequeath to my sister Thoreau, wife of my brother John Thoreau deceased, Twenty Dollars. I give and bequeath to my neice Sophia E. Thoreau, thirty Dollars, which includes ten dollars left in a former will to Henry D. Thoreau, deceased—

If my Sister Maria Thoreau shall be living at the time of my decease, I give, bequeath and devise to my Said Sister Maria, all the rest, residue and remainder of my Estate, real, personal and mixed, wherever situated, to hold to her, her heirs and assigns forever, and direct that the above Legacies be paid by my executor hereafter named, in one year after my decease.

But if my Said Sister Maria Shall not be living at my decease, then I will and order, that none of the above legacies, bequests, or devise shall take effect, or be paid, but Shall be wholly and entirely void— And instead thereof, I will and order, as follows, viz,

I give, bequeath and devise to my Sister Thoreau, the wife of my late brother John Thoreau, deceased, my dwelling House in Concord, Mass, with the land appertaining to it as a house Lot, to hold to her, her heirs & assigns, Subject to any mortgage or incumbrances, that may be upon the same— I give and bequeath and devise to my said Sister Thoreau her heirs & assigns, One fifth part of the remainder of my Estate, real and personal, after my debts & legacies hereafter named are paid—

I give and bequeath to my Nephew, Charles Lowell, Fifty Dollars— I give and bequeath to Elizabeth Lowell, daughter of said Charles Lowell, Fifty Dollars— I give and bequeath to Mrs. Mary F. W. Wilder of Cambridge, Fifty Dollars— I give & bequeath to Miss Louise Dunbar, if she be living at my decease, Fifty Dollars— If she be not living, then in lieu of said legacy, I give & bequeath to my nephews, Sons of George A. Thatcher and Charles Lowell, ten Dollars each—

I give and bequeath to the American Missionary Society, twenty five Dollars— I give and bequeath my Pew in second Congregational Church in Concord, to said Church—

All the remainder of my Estate, after all debts, legacies & expenses are paid, I give bequeath & devise to three neices, Mary A. T. Lowell, & Rebecca J. Thatcher and Sophia E. Thoreau—One half thereof to Said Mary A. and Rebecca J. to be equally divided between them— The other half thereof to Said Sophia E. their heirs & assigns.

I hereby constitute & appoint my Nephew George A. Thatcher of Bangor, Maine, Sole executor of this my last will and testament

In testimony whereof I have hereto set my hand & Seal the day & year first written.—

Jane Thoreau
This is my last will

Signed, Sealed, published & declared by the said testatrix to be her last will & testament in our presence, who in her presence & in presence of each other have hereunto set our names as witnesses

Nathan Brooks
Jo[illegible] W. Garfield
Charles B. Potts

Be it remembered that I, Jane Thoreau, of Concord, on this twenty eighth day of September in the year of our Lord eighteen Hundred and Sixty three, do make, publish and declare the following to be a codicil to my last will and testament, viz.

Having sold the House and land, devised by the foregoing will to my Sister, widow of my late Brother John Thoreau deceased, I give, bequeath and devise to my said Sister Cynthia D. Thoreau the sum of eleven Hundred and fifty Dollars. The proceeds of said House & land, now invested in U. S. Bonds, to be paid at the decease of myself & of my sister Maria. If my Said Sister Cynthia D. be not living at the decease of myself and my sister Maria, I give and bequeath the Same Sum of eleven Hundred & fifty Dollars to my neice Sophia E. Thoreau, provided the said proceeds of said House & land are not necessarily expended by me

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand & seal the day and year above written—

Jane Thoreau :

Subscribed our names as Witnesses —
N Brooks
G. C. M. Brooks
Benjamin W. Priest

[7] SOPHIA THOREAU, who died October 7, 1876.
Will probated in 1876.

I Sophia E. Thoreau of Bangor in the County of Penobscot and State of Maine, do on this fourteenth day of June in the year eighteen hundred and seventy five make, publish, and declare this my last will and testament.

After the payment of all my just debts and funeral expenses, I desire my Executor to provide a free stone tablet like my brother Henry's to mark my grave, which I wish to have made between my brother John's and Henry's. Also let there be a tablet like my father's, furnished to mark my mother's grave.

I dispose of my Estate as follows.

First—I give and bequeath to my Aunt Maria Thoreau, the sum of one thousand dollars ($1,000).

Second—I give and bequeath to Mrs. Dora S. Foster of South Boston, Massachusetts, the sum of two thousand dollars ($2,000).

Third—I give and bequeath to Joseph Swift, father of Mrs. Foster, the sum of Five hundred dollars ($500).

Fourth—I give and bequeath to Mrs. Swift, wife of Joseph Swift, the sum of two hundred dollars, ($200).

Fifth—I give and bequeath to the children of Dora S. Foster, as follows—To Charles Foster, the sum of one hundred dollars ($100) To Edward Foster, the sum of one hundred dollars ($100) To Annie Foster, my watch and chain, and the sum of one hundred dollars ($100).

Sixth—I give and bequeath to Mrs. Ellen D, wife of Rev. Joseph Osgood of Cohasset Massachusetts, the sum of one thousand dollars. ($1,000.)

Seventh—I give and bequeath to Elizabeth Weir of Concord Massachusetts, the sum of five hundred dollars, ($500)

Eighth—I give and bequeath to Jane Weir of Concord Massachusetts, the sum of five hundred dollars, ($500).

Ninth—I give and bequeath to Mrs. Mary A. Goodnow of Concord Massachusetts, the sum of five hundred dollars ($500).

Tenth—I give and bequeath to the Freedmen's Aid Society in Concord Massachusetts, the sum of five hundred dollars, ($500).

Eleventh—I give and bequeath to Mary Anne Dunbar, daughter of William Dunbar of Bridgwater Massachusetts, the sum of five hundred dollars ($500)

Twelfth—I give and bequeath to George A. Thatcher of Bangor Maine, the sum of one thousand dollars, ($1,000)

Thirteenth—I give and bequeath to George P. Thatcher, Benjamin B. Thatcher, Caleb B. Thatcher, and Harry K. Thatcher, sons of George A. Thatcher, Bangor, Maine, the sum of three hundred dollars each, ($1,200)

Fourteenth—I give and bequeath to Charles Lowell of Bangor, Maine, the sum of one thousand dollars. ($1,000)

Fifteenth—I give and bequeath to Elizabeth B. Lowell, daughter of Charles Lowell, the sum of Six hundred dollars, ($600)

Sixteenth—I give and bequeath to Caleb C. Lowell, son of Charles Lowell, Bangor, Maine, the sum of six hundred dollars, ($600)

Seventeenth—I give and bequeath to Adams Tolman, William N. Tolman, Charles Tolman, sons of George Tolman of Concord, Massachusetts, as a token of remembrance, the sum of fifty dollars each, ($150)

Eighteenth—I give and bequeath all my brother Henry's manuscripts, to his friend H. G. O. Blake of Worcester, Massachusetts.

I give, bequeath and devise all the rest, residue and remainder of all my estate, to be equally divided, by and between my cousins, Mary A. T. Lowell and Rebecca J. Thatcher J. Thatcher, of Bangor, Maine, to hold to them their heirs and assigns forever.

I hereby make, constitute, and appoint George A. Thatcher of Bangor, Maine, sole executor of this, my last will and testament,

In witness whereof, I the said Sophia E. Thoreau have hereunto set my hand and seal, the day and year first herein written.

Sophia E. Thoreau (L S)

Signed, sealed, published and declared by the said testatrix to be her last will and testament, in our presence, who, in her presence, and at her request and in the presence of each other, have herein set our names as witnesses,

S. G. Jerrard
W. B. Ferguson
C. P. Church

Whereas I, Sophia E. Thoreau of Bangor in the County of Penobscot, State Maine, have made and duly executed my last will and testament in writing, Now therefore, I do declare this present writing to be a Codicil to my said will and direct the same to be annexed thereto and taken as a part thereof and I do hereby confirm my said will except so much of the same as is hereby altered.

So far as relates to the bequest made to Mrs. Ellen D., wife of Rev. Joseph Osgood, of Cohasset, Massachusetts I hereby revoke and instead thereof, I hereby give and bequeath to said Ellen D. Osgood the sum of Five Hundred dollars instead of One thousand dollars as bequeathed in my said will.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this eighth day of August A.D. 1876.

Sophia E. Thoreau (L S)

Signed, sealed, published and declared by said Sophia E. Thoreau to be a Codicil to her last will and testament in the presence of us who at her request and in her sight and presence have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses thereto,

Philimeda Carpenter
Mrs. J. M. Daggett
R. H. Perham

[8] MARIA THOREAU. Her will was probated in 1882.

I, Maria Thoreau of Bangor, County of Penobscot, and State of Maine, being of sound mind and desirous of controlling the distribution of my estate whenever, it shall please Divine Providence, to remove me from this, to another world, do make, publish, and declare the following, as and for my Last Will, and Testament, hereby abrogating, and annulling all former Wills by me, made.

First I will and direct that all my funeral expenses, charges of Probate, and all my debts be paid out of my estate.

Second, I give, and bequeath to George A. Thatcher of said Bangor, Six hundred dollars, I also give, and bequeath to the said George A. Thatcher the further sum of Fifty dollars, to be used by him in the embellishment of his Cemetary Lot at Mount Hope. I desire that one handsome stone, only, should mark the resting place of my Sister, Jane, and myself.

Third, I give, and bequeath to the children of said George A. Thatcher, the following sums To his son, George P. Thatcher of California Four hundred dollars-- To his son, Caleb B. Thatcher, Three hundred dollars-- To his Son Henry R. Thatcher, Three hundred dollars, To his Son, Benjamin B. Thatcher, Two hundred dollars--

I also give, and bequeath to the said Benjamin B. Thatcher the further sum of one hundred dollars, which sum I desire him to divide into equal parts, and deposite in a savings Bank for his children, George T. Thatcher, and Lottie May Thatcher, and each child's share, to remain and accumulate in some Savings Bank, until they severally, arrive at the age of twenty one years. I request that said Benjamin B. be not required to give any Bond for said Trust money.

Fourth, I give, and bequeath to Charles Lowell of said Bangor, one Bond of the Maine Cen. Con. Rail Road Company, of the denomination of Five hundred, If however, said Lowell prefers money instead of said Bond, I will and bequeath to him, Five hundred dollars in lieu of said Bond. I also give and bequeath to said Charles Lowell, the furth[er] sum of Three hundred dollars

Fifth, I give, and bequeath to the children of said Charles Lowell, the following sums, To his Daughter, Elizabeth B. Lowell, Eight hundred dollars, to his son, Caleb Lowell Three hundred dollars.

Sixth, I give, and bequeath to The American Missionary Association the sum of Fifty dollars.

Seventh, I give, and bequeath to the First Parish Congregational Church in Bangor, Fifty dollars to be expended for the benefit of the Poor of said Church.

Eighth, I give, and bequeath to the Home for aged women in Bangor, Twenty Five dollars

Ninth, I give, and bequeath to my Friend, Mrs Mary W. F. Wilder, now in Washington D. C. Fifty dollars, and to her Daughter, Mrs Mary Loomis Twenty Five dollars, and to Mabel Loomis Twenty Five dollars, as a small token of friendship.

Tenth, I give, and bequeath to Mrs E. H. Wright Fifty, dollars, if she is with me at the time of my decease.

Eleventh, I give, bequeath, and devise all the rest, and remainder of my estate, real personal, and mixed, whereever the same may be found or situate, to my two nieces, Mrs Mary A. T. Lowell, and Mrs Rebecca Jane Thatcher, to be equally divided between them, to have, and to hold the same, to them and their respective heirs, and assigns forever, not as joint tenants, but as tenants in common. Provided however, if either of my said nieces shall not be living at the time of my decease, I give, bequeath, and devise to her surviving husband, said half of the said rest, and remainder of my said estate, to have, and to hold the same to him, his heirs, and assigns forever.

Twelfth I, hereby, appoint said George A. Thatcher sole Executor of this my Last Will and Testament,

In Witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and seal, this Twenty second day of February in the year of our Lord one Thousand eight hundred & seventy seven.

Maria Thoreau

signed, sealed, published, and declared by the said Maria Thoreau in our presence, to be her Last Will & Testament, and, We, and each of us, in her presence, at her request, and in the presence of each other, subscribed our names as Witnesses

Laura A Stebbins.
Mary E Fleming
Feb 22. 1877 A G Wakefield

Codicil to My Last Will & Testament

I Maria Thoreau of Bangor, County of Penobscot, and state of Maine, do make, publish and declare this Codicil to my last Will and Testament in manner following. Viz

First I give, and bequeathe to my two neices Mrs Mary A. T. Lowell and Mrs Rebecca Jane Thatcher, my Two Kansas City Bond[s], each of the denomination of one Thousand dollars to be divided equally between them I also give and bequeathe to my said neice Rebecca Jane Thatcher the sum of one hundred dollars, being the same amount I have presented to said niece, Mary A. T. Lowell.

Second I give, and bequeathe to Benjamin B. Thatcher the sum of one hundred dollars in addition to the sum bequeathed him in my Will

Third I give and bequeathe to Caleb B. Thatcher in addition to the sum bequeathed him in my Will one United States Bond of the denomination of one hundred dollars

And, also as a mark of affectionate sympathizing interest in the present and future health of said Caleb B. Thatcher, I give and bequeathe to him all my shares of stock in the European & N A Railway Company.

Third, In addition to the sum I have given to my Nephew, Harry R. Thatcher in my said Will, I give, and bequeathe to him one United States Bond of the denomination of one hundred dollars

Fourth--In addition to the bequest in my said Will to Mary W. F. Wilder, I give and bequeathe to her One United States Bond of the denomination of one hundred dollars

Fifth As a small token of Friendship I give and bequeathe to Miss Celice Patten of Portland the sum of Twenty Five Dollars.

Item. It is intended that the above Bonds sums of money and stock shall be taken from that part of my estate mentioned in the residuary clause in said Will. The sums to be paid to be paid & delivered to said Legatees by said George A. Thatcher, Executor

Lastly. It is my desire that this my present Codicil be annexed to, and make a part of my Last Will, and Testament to all intents and purposes, hireby affirming said Will

In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and seal this Twenty fourth day of November in the year of our Lord one Thousand Eight hundred and Eighty. The word "her", second Page, tenth line interlined before signing and also on same page after the word devise, the words "in said Will"

Maria Thoreau

Signed, sealed, published and dec[l]ared by the above named Maria Thoreau, as a codicil to be annexed to her Last Will and Testament in presence of us, and we, and each of us in her presence, at her request, and in presence of each other at the same time subscribed our names a[s] Witnesses

A G Wakefield
Bangor Nov 24. 1880 Laura A Stebbins
Mary E. Fleming

MEMORABILIA OF THOREAU'S CONCORD ACADEMY FRIENDS

By THE EDITOR

The importance of Thoreau's early friendships remains to be adequately assessed. Excellent evidence of the rich possibilities open to the researcher in this department appears in a recent dissertation by Christian P. Gruber at Princeton University, The Education of Henry Thoreau, Harvard 1833-1837.[1] In 1955, Clayton Hoagland threw new light on the early period in his "The Diary of Thoreau's 'Gentle Boy,'"[2] excerpts from a journal kept by Edmund Sewall during his residence at the Concord Academy when conducted by John and Henry. In 1957, my own "Young Henry Thoreau in the Annals of the Concord Academy (1829-1833)"[3] provided a check list of H.D.T's contemporaries with whom he held converse or against whom he debated prior to his years at Harvard, and it is to some of these that the following memorabilia apply. My intention has been as much as possible to enlarge our knowledge of the background in the hope that new relationships and influences can ultimately be established and a few annual vacuums filled.[4] I have not attempted here to exhaust the resources.

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1 Completed in October, 1953. Available on microfilm as Publication 8077 from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

2 N E Q, XXVIII, no. 4 (Dec., 1955), 473-489.

3 Emerson Society Quarterly, no. 9 (IV Quarter 1957), pp. 1-42.

4 I shall draw frequently upon or allude to Henry Williams, Memorials of the Class of 1837 of Harvard University, Boston, 1887.

WILLIAM ALLEN

"Immediately after his graduation [from Harvard] he taught school at Concord, Mass., and subsequently was Preceptor of Barnstable Academy for two and a half years...." Williams, op. cit., p. 83.

EDWIN SHEPARD BARRETT

"He attended the district school of the North Quarter and the grammar school, and perhaps a few terms at the Concord Academy, till he was sixteen years old. His older brother had entered Harvard College, where he graduated in 1851, but Edwin, with more liking for an active than a studious life, left home and entered, as a boy, the store of Smith, Sumner & Co., a wholesale millinery business in Boston. In this change of residence and occupation he was joined by three of his Concord schoolmates, Henry J. Hosmer, George Keyes, and George B. Bartlett, who began mercantile life almost together." John Shepard Keyes in Memoirs of...the Social Circle, IV, p. 165.

JONATHAN FAY BARRETT

"Jonathan Fay Barrett, the eldest son of Joseph Barrett and Sophia Fay, was born in Concord, January 28, 1817, in the house on Walden Street owned by Mrs. Asa Heywood, and afterward by Charles Bartlett. Soon after his birth, his father moved to the house on Lexington Street which had been the residence of his grandfather, Jonathan Fay, Esq., and is now that of Hon. George Heywood. He first went to the school for very young people kept by Mrs. Huldah Bliss (better known as Ma'am Bliss), a lady whose relation to her little pupils, sixty-five years ago, was such as to entitle her to honorable mention; though, in age and poverty and feebleness, she exhibited some traits of character, or infirmities of temper, which affected seriously her popularity among her neighbors. The children who attended her 'dame's school' were very early made good readers, good spellers, and impressed with the great value of learning. They were also taught to cherish a respect, amounting almost to reverence, for Harvard College; and as an encouragement to their efforts, were sometimes allowed to look at a volume which she regarded as among the most precious of her possessions, entitled 'Sturm's Reflections,' which she assured them was the reading-book of the senior class in that institution. She had lived in Cambridge before she came to Concord, and her husband was of kindred with Dr. Ripley's wife. She used to give an annual party to her scholars on the Saturday after Thanksgiving, which they regarded as an occasion of extraordinary splendor, and the entertainment was adorned by wonderful gingerbread, in the shape of all the animals of Noah's Ark. I first new Fay Barrett as a schoolmate at her school, which he began to attend when about three or four years old. He was a very sober, quiet, handsome boy, and always good-natured and friendly to his companions, being a special favorite with the girls.

"After his father had become the occupant of the great farm which included in it Lee's Hill (Nashawtuct), and the Concord Academy was established, he was again my schoolmate there, and continued to at-

tend it with more or less regularity until he entered Harvard College in the fall of 1834.

"He went with Moses B. Prichard to college, in September, 1834, joining the class of James Russell Lowell, Rufus Ellis, Judge Devens, Professor Eustis, George B. Loring, William Aspinwall, and many others, with whom he retained pleasant relations through life, though he remained a member of the class but a single year.

"In the fall of 1835 he left college and commenced the study of law in Boston, in the office of Chapman & Fay; Mr. Richard S. Fay being the son of his uncle, Judge Fay of Cambridge, and Mr. Jonathan Chapman being afterward mayor of Boston. His father's means were rather limited, so that he felt his longer stay at college would impose upon him a heavy burden; and his cousin offered him a place in his office.... In this office, with a little over a year's study at the law school at Cambridge, he remained till his admission to the Bar in 1839. He had an office as a lawyer in Boston for the rest of his life, except while he was a resident of Texas." --Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar in Memoirs of...the Social Circle, III, 125-127.

second son of a family of six children. He grew up on the Lee farm, attending the district and town schools, with, perhaps, an occasional term at the academy. In school, a bright, pleasant, active boy, fond of arithmetic, but more fond of play, and a leader among his mates. At home, on the farm, a clever, handy worker, he early in life became a useful helper." ---John Shepard Keyes, Memoirs of...the Social Circle, III, 167-168.

HARRISON GRAY OTIS BLAKE

THE TELEGRAM.

TUESDAY, APRIL 10, 1888.

EIGHTY-TWO YEARS OLD.

Harrison Gray Otis Blake Passes Away After a Long Illness.

Harrison Gray Otis Blake died yesterday at his home, 40 William street, after an illness which began three years ago with a paralytic shock. He has not been confined to his bed, but yesterday at noon was the change. About 3 o'clock he became seriously ill and died in two hours.

He was born in Worcester, and was 82 years and 6 days old. In 1835 he graduated from Harvard college and then took up the study of theology in a divinity school at Cambridge, intending to become a Unitarian preacher. His father was a Unitarian preacher, who was one of the leaders in which he studied, but he never entered the ministry. When he was a young man he was a teacher of a girls' school in Worcester and since then has not been in active life.

He married twice. His last wife has been dead several years. He had a family of three children, Mrs. George T. Rice, His father was Hon. Francis Blake and his mother Eliza Augusta Chandler Blake. Mrs. Rice and Miss Mary T. Blake of 61 Cedar street are his only relatives in Worcester. He has several relatives in Boston and vicinity, among whom are Francis Blake Rice and Francis Blake.

The funeral arrangements have not been completed, but probably Thursday the body will be taken to Sterling and buried beside that of his last wife. Services will be at the residence of Mrs. Rice.

BOSTON DAILY ADVERTISER.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 20, 1898.

H. G. O. BLAKE DEAD.

Worcester, April 19.—H. G. O. Blake, one of the oldest residents of Worcester, died at his home Monday afternoon, aged 82.

He was born in Worcester, and came of a distinguished colonial ancestry. His father was Francis Blake, a well-known lawyer, who died in 1871. His grandmother was the daughter of Brig. Gen. Timothy Ruggles, president of the first general congress of the British colonies in America, held in 1765. On his mother's side Mr. Blake is a descendant from Gov. Carver and John Howland of the Mayflower.

Mr. Blake was graduated from Harvard University in the class of 1837 with Judge E. R. Hoar of Concord, Judge Edward Sander of Washington, and other noted men.

For many years he was a teacher, and conducted a private school for young ladies in Worcester, and was also prominent at the Concord summer school of philosophy, being a friend of Emerson, Thoreau and Alcott.

His wife and two children are deceased, and among the surviving relatives in and about Boston are Francis Blake, F. B. Rice and Mrs. G. T. Rice.

The Death of Mr. J. F. Barrett.

The sudden death of Mr. Jonathan Fay Barrett of Concord, which occurred on Friday at noon at his office in the Sears Building, from heart disease, was a very painful shock to the feelings of a large circle of friends in Concord, where he was widely known and highly esteemed; he was a son of the Hon. Joseph Barrett, who was state treasurer of Massachusetts from 1844 to the time of his decease in 1853. He was born in Concord in 1817, and during his early childhood lived in the "John Boston" house, now occupied by his cousin, the Hon. George Heywood. He attended Mrs. Bliss's private school in the "Blocks," still standing, near the Unitarian Church. While in attendance upon this school he was the playmate and classmate of Judge Hoar, and the intimacy and friendship there formed has been firmly cemented by the interweaves of riper years.

At a public meeting held in the Concord Town Hall, during the congressional contest between Judge Hoar and General Butler, the latter made some uncalled for allusions to Mr. Barrett's connection with the "Blocks," which Mr. Barrett will ever forget. He was a member of the famous class of 1837 of Harvard College. In 1853, Mr. Barrett, together with Thomas W. Pierce and other Boston capitalists, became interested in railroad enterprises, and went to Galveston, Tex., where he originated, and afterwards became the president of, the Buffalo Bayou Brazos & Colorado Railroad, running between Galveston and Harrisburg, and the Central railway system. In religious matters, he was somewhat of a free thinker, his wife's sister being the wife of the Rev. Francis E. Abbott, the editor of the Index; still he was always friendly to the church and its people and was an attendant upon the Unitarian Church in his native town for several years. The funeral services will take place at the late residence of the deceased, Main street, Concord, this afternoon at three o'clock.

[From the Boston Daily Advertiser, Jan. 26, 1885.]

RICHARD BARRETT

[He was born August 30, 1818; died February 11, 1887.]

"Of all the members of the Social Circle who have held military positions, Captain Barrett was pre-eminently our soldier, not so much by his rank or his bearing as by his life-long interest in, and devotion to, the service. Inheriting from father and grandfather the traditions of command, he was always 'eager for the fray' of a parade or a muster, from his boyhood to old age, and he transmitted this tendency to son and grandson....

"He was born...in the Heywood house on Lexington Street, in this town, the third child and

Boston Transcript

Harrison G. O. Blake of Worcester

Mr. Harrison Gray Otis Blake of Worcester, died suddenly Monday, at the age of eighty-two. He was a son of Francis Blake, one of the most distinguished lawyers of his time. He was connected with many well-known families, and was descended from John Howland of the Mayflower. He was graduated at Harvard in 1835, a classmate of Judge Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar of Concord and other well-known men, and studied theology at Cambridge, but never entered the ministry because of his radical views. For many years he taught in a private school for young women in Worcester, one of his pupils, who afterward assisted him as teacher, being his second wife. He was a regular attendant at the Concord Summer School of Philosophy and was a devoted student of Emerson, Bronson Alcott and Thoreau.

Worcester Daily Spy.

WORCESTER.

TUESDAY, APRIL 19, 1898.

H. G. O. BLAKE.

Death of One of Worcester's Oldest Residents.

A Man of Rare Personal Qualities, Identified with the Concord School of Writers—His Life of Thoreau is Well Known.

Harris Gray Otis Blake, one of the oldest residents of Worcester, died suddenly Monday afternoon, at his late residence, 46 William street. Mr. Blake suffered a shock about four years ago, and since that time has been in feeble health.

He celebrated his eighty-second birthday Easter Sunday, and was thought to be in his usual state of health. About 1 o'clock Monday afternoon he walked out on the piazza, but was taken ill, soon after going indoors, and died about 4.30 o'clock.

Harrison Gray Otis Blake, named from the celebrated Harrison Gray Otis of Boston, was a native of Worcester, and of distinguished ancestry. He was the son of Hon. Francis Blake, one of the most eloquent and able lawyers of his time, state senator and clerk of the county courts at the time of his decease, Feb. 23, 1817, at the early age of 43 years, when his youngest son, the subject of this sketch, was less than a year old. H. G. O. Blake's mother, Elizabeth Augusta Chandler, was the daughter of Gardner Chandler, a son of the last Judge John Chandler of Worcester. Gardner Chandler's wife, Mr. Blake's grandmother was the daughter of the celebrated Brig. Gen. Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick, one of the most noted men of his time in our history, who was president of the first general congress of the British colonies in America, held in New York in 1765, to consider matters for relief from the oppressions of the mother government. The ancestry of Mr. Blake is traced farther back, through his grandmother Blake, to Gov. Carver and John Howland of the Mayflower.

Mr. Blake was a highly educated man, of the finest moral sensibilities and of the most kindly disposition and courteous manners. He was a graduate of Harvard University in 1835, in the class of '57, which included the late Judge Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar of Concord. Judge Edward Sander of Washington territory, Dr. Thomas M. Brewer and Dr. George Bemis of Boston, Ward Nicholas Boylston and other noted persons. Mr. Blake supplemented his college course by the study of theology in the divinity school at Cambridge, but he never entered the ministry, his radical views on religious questions being too unique and far in advance of the then views of the Unitarian denomination, in which he had been educated.

He followed the profession of a teacher for many years, in a private school for young ladies, in Worcester; one of his scholars, who afterwards assisted him as teacher, being his last wife.

Mr. Blake's father, Francis Blake, who was son of Joseph Blake, an eminent merchant in Boston and afterwards of Rutland, removed from Rutland to Worcester in 1802, and resided in the old house, afterwards owned and occupied by the late Col. Samuel D. Spurr, which stood on the north corner of Main and Central streets, and was removed back on to Central street when the brick block occupying its site, where the Putnam-Sprague Furniture Company are, was erected in 1836. The old house was torn down in 1890, when the present eastern extension of that block was erected.

Here the last four children of Francis Blake were born, of whom Elizabeth, born in 1810, was wife of the late Geo. T. Rice, senior, of this city, and Francis, Jr., born in 1812, married Caroline Burling Trumbull, daughter of the late George A. Trumbull.

The late H. G. O. Blake is the last one of his father's large family.

Mr. Blake was a man of modest and unassuming demeanor, but firm in his convictions of what is right. He took the greatest enjoyment in the study of that school of philosophy represented by Ralph Waldo Emerson, A. Bronson Alcott, and H. D. Thoreau, and was a general attendant at the annual meetings of the "summer school" of these congenial spirits at Concord. He was author of a volume, the "Life of Thoreau," of whose views he had an exalted idea. He was a great lover of nature, in all its phases, and fond of taking long walks into the country, as long as he was able.

Mr. Blake had been twice married. His first wife, whom he married in 1840 and who died in 1846, was Sarah Chandler, daughter of Col. Samuel and Sarah (Chandler) Ward, and great granddaughter of the last Judge John Chandler of Worcester.

His second wife, who died in 1872, was Nancy Conant of Sterling, sister of the late Edwin Conant, Esq., of Worcester.

By his first wife he had a son, Harrison, who died in 1846, and a daughter Sarah Chandler Blake, also now deceased, who married in 1866 Alonzo A. Hamilton, Jr., of Saco, Me., afterwards merchant in Boston.

The only living relatives in this city are Mrs. George T. Rice and Miss Mary T. Rice of 61 Cedar street. There are several nephews and nieces, living in and about Boston, among whom are Francis Blake of telephone fame, and Francis Blake Rice.

The funeral will take place from 61 Cedar street, probably on Thursday, although the date has not been definitely arranged. The burial will be in Sterling.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, FRIDAY, APR. 29, 1898.

THE LATE HARRISON BLAKE.

[From Boston Correspondent of The Republican, Saturday, April 23.]

The death of Harrison Blake of Worcester does not come unexpected to his many friends of Boston and Concord, for he had long been so ill that only death was to be looked for, and recovery was out of the question. He belonged to a class of scholars and religious persons which seems to have passed away,—gentle, cultivated, rather irresolute, but with too much conscience to profess actively the faith in which they were nurtured, and strongly opposed to that wave of reaction which carried women of this nature, and some men, back into the dogmatic and artistic churches. Mr Blake, half a century ago, took that sturdy protestant against New England Protestantism, Henry Thoreau, for his guide and philosopher; and out of their friendship grew a remarkable correspondence, one-half of which, the didactic and humorous letters of Thoreau,—has been published. The letters of Mr Blake, more numerous, but le s racy, may some time be printed in connection with Thoreau's. He became the literary executor of his friend, after the death of Sophia Thoreau in 1876, and edited several volumes of selections from the Concord Journals,—which now pass into other friendly hands, and may be printed entire at some future day, so great and increasing is the demand from readers of Thoreau for every word which he wrote. Mr Blake was the antipodes of Thoreau in many points,—a fact which often strengthens the tie of friendship, as it did that between Montaigne and his early-lost friend, Estienne La Boetie. There was a third in this Worcester and Concord alliance,—Theo Brown, a witty and independent citizen, fond of nature, as his neighbor Blake was, and drawn to Thoreau quite as much by his humor as by that common love of the visible world. Today Mr Blake was buried at Sterling, which was one of his homes during his long career as student, teacher, author and friend. When he began to correspond with Thoreau he was teaching in Milton, along with Christopher Greene, another person of the like moods and gentleness, long since dead.

GEORGE MERRICK BROOKS

[H.U. 1844. His half-sister, Caroline Downes, married (in 1840) Ebenezer R. Hoar.]

"On the 26th of July, 1824, a son was born to Hon. Nathan Brooks and Mary Merrick, his wife, and later on was cristened by the name which heads this page. The father was a lawyer in Concord, where he had lived (coming from Lincoln) a dozen or more years. The mother was a native of Concord, the daughter of Tilley Merrick, a merchant here, whose life written by his grandson is printed in the second series...as is also that of Nathan Brooks by the same writer. This birth took place in the square house then standing at the junction of Main and Sudbury streets, which now stands on Hubbard Street next but one west of the Trinitarian church.

"In this house George grew up with a half-sister, the daughter of Mr. Brook's first marriage to Caroline Downes, who died soon after the birth of this child. He attended at a very early age the woman's school kept by Miss Phœbe Wheeler, in the house now occupied as Concord's Home for the Aged.... At the age of six or seven years he went to the Concord Academy, then kept by Mr. Phineas Allen, and remained in it till the school was broken up by the election of Mr. Allen as Town Clerk by the Anti-Masons, in March, 1834, which caused the withdrawal of most of the scholars by their indignant parents.

"George's next school was that started by Mr. William Whiting, Jr., in the upper story of the Academy building then standing on Academy Lane, and now removed west on Middle Street. Here he was one of the youngest of twenty-two scholars, sixteen of whom were living and twelve of whom were present at a wedding in Concord just fifty years afterwards, in June, 1884. Under Mr. Whiting's tuition he learned more in fifteen months than in all his previous schools, and he continued under Mr. C. C. Shackford's instruction another year in the same school, and then for a year or two more at the Academy under the teaching of John and Henry David Thoreau. As a boy he was noted for his sweet temper, pleasant manner, and kind disposition, a little inclined to play rather than study, and neither a great reader nor a forward scholar; he was a capital playmate, never getting angry in a game. His mates were the younger brothers of Judge Hoar, and the sons of Dr. Heywood, and a Bemis boy who lived in the store building adjoining his father's house. There being some doubt as to whether George would be fitted for college at the usual age, then sixteen, if he continued at the Academy, he was sent for a year or two to the school of the Rev. Samuel Ripley at Waltham. Here, under the tuition of Mrs. and Miss Ripley, he became well prepared for admission to Harvard, September, 1840.

"After leaving college, Brooks at once began to study law in his father's office in Concord. Entering his name there, September 1, 1844, and remaining just a year, studying and working some, but entering into all the amusements and social life of the town, September 1, 1845, he attended the Law School of Harvard University, and continued there the three terms necessary for the degree of LL.B., which he received in 1847. Returning to Concord, he spent six weeks in his father's office, but desiring to see more of the practice of law, he went to Lowell, February 22, 1847, into the office of Hopkinson & Ames, leading lawyers of that city, and both afterwards judges of the courts. September 7, 1847, he was admitted to the bar at the Common Pleas Court in Lowell, upon the certificates of the terms of his study for the full three years then required, which are filed with his application and are very complimentary.

"He began practice in Concord, opening his office in the front room of the Insurance Company under the Bank, where, in the back room, his father had for more than a dozen years made the policies and kept the accounts of the Insurance Company, and where the citizens of Concord had met to hear the news and talk over the politics of the town, county, state, and nation." ---John Shepard Keyes in Memoirs of...the Social Circle, III, 219-223.

HIRAM B. DENNIS

"We mentioned yesterday, under our obituary head, the death of HIRAM B. DENNIS of Concord. Mr. Dennis graduated at Cambridge in the class of 1835, and soon took the editorial charge of the Nantucket Inquirer, which he conducted with signal ability, tact and brilliancy. While a resident of Nantucket he was twice elected to represent that place in the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth.... Continued ill health obliged him to abandon his editorial persuits [sic] and his residence at Nantucket, and after a long struggle against constitutional disease, he at last returned to his home at Concord,--as his friends all felt, and as he seemed to acknowledge to himself--to die...." [Source not discovered. Taken from Quinquennial Folder in Harvard Archives.]

GEORGE FOLSOM

"The academy, which [Colonel Whiting] assisted in founding, had as its first teacher for three years, Mr. George Folsom, who was afterward somewhat prominent in New York politics, and became the American minister at the Hague; and a little later Richard Hildreth, the historian, who was a good classical scholar. Colonel Whiting had his daughters instructed--not then a common thing--to the same extent as his son, so far as this school afforded the opportunity, and they became well educated and accomplished women, who made their father's house attractive to the best society...." ---Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, "Memoir of William Whiting," Memoirs of... the Social Circle, II, 263-264.

GEORGE HEYWOOD

"Mr. Heywood was prepared for Harvard College in the public schools of the town and in the academy which stood on Academy Lane where Middle Street now enters it. The academy building is the double house standing on the left of Middle Street as you go toward the Fitchburg Railroad station. The present owner is Mrs. Charles Emerson, who purchased it of Mr. W. E. Channing." ---Edward C. Damon, "George Heywood," Memoirs of...the Social Circle, IV, 160.

[For further details about George Heywood, refer to the chapter indicated.]

Boston Transcript

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1897.

HON. GEORGE HEYWOOD.

A Lifelong Resident of Concord and One of the Most Prominent Men in Middlesex County.

Hon. George Heywood, one of Concord's oldest and best known citizens, died last evening at his residence on Lexington road. He had been in failing health for several weeks, but had been confined to his house only a short time. About his last public appearance was at the inauguration of Governor Wolcott.

Hon. George Heywood, son of Abiel and Lucy P. Heywood, was born in Concord, Mass., May 24, 1826. He attended the public schools of the town and then entered Harvard University, graduating in 1848. He studied law with Hon. Samuel Hoar and Hon. E. Rockwood Hoar, being admitted to the bar in 1850. In his early manhood he took an active interest in local affairs, in which he has been very prominent during a greater portion of his life. He and his ancestors had held the town clerk's office for 107 years, Samuel Heywood from 1731 to 1748, his son Jonas from 1755 to 1759 and from 1762 to 1770; Abiel Heywood, grandson of Samuel and nephew of Jonas, held the office thirty-eight years, and George Heywood, the last of the family, who had been town clerk, was appointed in 1853 by the Selectmen to finish the unexpired term of Francis R. Gourgas, and from that time was elected each succeeding year until 1894, when he declined further service.

He was town treasurer in 1860 and from 1863 to 1870; assessor from 1850 to 1853 and again in 1860; tax collector in 1868, 1869, 1872, 1873 and 1874. He served as quartermaster of the First Regiment of Artillery in 1832 and as captain of the Concord Artillery in 1850.

In 1851 an act was passed by the Legislature establishing a public inbrary in Concord, and when the first committee for that library was chosen in 1853 Mr. Heywood was on that committee, and served twenty years, part of the time being librarian.

In 1862 and 1863 he was elected to the lower branch of the Legislature; in 1864 and 1865 he served in the upper branch, and in 1866, 1867 and 1875 again in the lower branch. In the House of Representatives he was a member of the Committee on the Judiciary every year of his service. He was also, at different times, House chairman of the standing Committees on Banks and Banking and Bills in the third reading and in the Senate of a joint special committee on the taxation of non-resident stockholders in corporations. As one of Governor Long's council he was a member of the important Committees on Pardons and on Railroads and the Hoosac Tunnel. He served in the Executive Council during 1880, 1881, 1882 and 1883, being senior member the latter year, which was during Governor Butler's term of office.

Mr. Heywood was treasurer of the Middlesex Institution for Savings from 1869 until 1894, and was president of the Concord National Bank for more than thirty years, retiring in 1895. In the Middlesex Mutual Fire Insurance Company he was a director and president for many years, until 1896. He was a director of the Eastern Railroad for four years, before it was consolidated with the Boston & Maine system, and he had been a director of the Fitchburg Railroad since 1880.

He was prominent in county affairs for many years, probably more so than any other lawyer in Middlesex County. He had been a member of the Social Circle, the oldest and most select club in Concord, which was formed in 1782, and grew out of the famous committee of safety. It includes twenty-five of the most influential men, who dine together twenty-five times annually on successive Tuesday evenings. Mr. Heywood's house, where he was born and always resided, is one of interest. It was the residence of Abiel Heywood, and was the home of prominent town officers before the revolution.

Mr. Heywood was married Jan. 8, 1801, to Eliza Pierce of Concord, who survives him. Dr. George Heywood of New York, and C. F. Heywood, cashier of the Concord National Bank, are his sons, and Mrs. F. W. B. Sellers of Boston is his daughter.

BOSTON DAILY ADVERTISER.

MONDAY MORNING, FEB. 1, 1897.

GEORGE HEYWOOD.

Death of One of Concord's Best-Known Citizens.

Prominent as Banker, Lawyer and Public Official.

Concord, Jan. 31.—Hon. George Heywood, one of Concord's oldest and best-known citizens, died this evening at his residence on Lexington road.

He had been in failing health for several weeks, but had been confined to his house only a short time. About his last public appearance was at the inauguration of Gov. Wolcott.

This morning his heart seemed very weak and during the day he failed to rally.

Mr. Heywood was for many years one of the most prominent men in Middlesex county. One of his last public duties was as delegate to the international railway congress in Europe, two years ago. He was a director of the Fitchburg R.R. and American Powder companies.

He leaves a widow, two sons and a daughter. Dr. George Heywood of New York, and C. F. Heywood, cashier of the Concord National bank, are his sons, and Mrs. F. W. B. Sellers of Boston is his daughter.

Hon. George Heywood, son of Abiel and Lucy Heywood, was born in Concord, May 24, 1826. He attended the public schools of the town and then entered Harvard University, graduating in 1848. Afterwards he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1850.

From his early manhood he took an active interest in town affairs, in which he had been very prominent during the greater portion of his life. George Heywood and his ancestors have held the town clerk's office for 107 years, and from 1762 until 1770, Abiel Heywood, grandson of Samuel and nephew of Jonas, held the office 38 years, and George Heywood, the last of the family who had been town clerk, was appointed in 1853 by the selectmen to finish the unexpired term of F. R. Gourgas, and from that time was elected each succeeding year until 1894, when he declined further service.

George Heywood was town treasurer in 1860, and from 1863 to 1870; assessor from 1850 to 1853, and again in 1860; tax collector in 1868, 1869, 1872, 1873, 1874. In 1851 an act was granted by the legislature establishing a public library in Concord, and when the first committee for that library was chosen in 1853 Mr. Heywood was on that committee and served 20 years, part of the time being librarian.

He was a representative to the general court in 1862, 1863, 1866, 1867 and 1875, and in 1864 and 1865 he was senator, on Gov. Long's council in 1880, 1881 and 1882, and on Gov. Butler's in 1883.

He was treasurer of the Middlesex Institutions for Savings from 1869 till 1894, and was president of the Concord National Bank for over 30 years, retiring in 1894; director and president of the Middlesex Mutual Fire Ins. Co. for many years until 1896. He had been a director of the Fitchburg R. R. since 1880.

George Heywood was the embodiment of the history of the town. He was prominent in county affairs for many years, probably more so than any other lawyer in Middlesex County, and he had a very extended practice, his counsel and advice being very valuable. He was very competent in the offices he held and a careful financier, especially so as treasurer of the savings bank.

He had been a member of the Social Circle, the most venerable and select club in Concord, which was formed in 1782, and grew out of the famous committee of safety. It includes 25 of the most influential men, who sup together 25 times annually on successive Tuesday evenings.

Mr. Heywood's house, where he was born and always resided, is one of interest. It was the residence of Abiel Heywood, and was the home of prominent town officers before the revolution.

Mr. Heywood was married in December, 1850, to Eliza Pierce of Concord.

Boston Journal.

TUESDAY MORNING, AUG. 1, 1865.

THE LATE RICHARD HILDRETH, THE HISTORIAN. Yesterday brief notice was taken of the death of Richard Hildreth, the historian. Mr. Hildreth was born June 28, 1807, in the old town of Deerfield, Mass. His father was the Rev. Hosea Hildreth, a prominent Congregational clergyman, who was the last old-school divine of latitudinarian views to join the Unitarian from the Calvanistic church of New England, and in his profession always stood in high esteem for ability, public spirit and active benevolence. Being fitted for college at Phillips' Exeter Academy, his father having removed to that town, Richard graduated at Harvard in 1826, having proved himself a successful student of the prescribed course, without, however, entirely confining himself to it. Besides his extensive readings in history, political economy and ethics, he became familiar with the whole body of Greek and Latin authors in their original languages. He then entered the office of Theophilus Parsons, afterward Dane Professor in the Law School of Cambridge, where his remarkable power of close and long continued application excited the astonishment of all who knew him. In 1827, during Mr. Hildreth's residence at Newburyport, his literary life took its commencement in a series of articles contributed to a magazine then lately started in Boston by Mrs. Sarah Jane Hale. Not long after he became a contributor to Willis' *Boston Magazine*—the first editorial experiment of that popular writer; and still subsequently to Joseph T. Buckingham's *New England Magazine*.

In July, 1832, while practising the legal profession in Boston, he was induced to accept the post of editor of the Boston *Atlas*, the exponent or organ of Rufus Choate, Caleb Cushing and other rising politicians, who were then associated together, and for several years Mr. Hildreth's connection with the new paper gave it a decided preeminence among the political journals of New England. Ill health in the autumn of 1834 compelled Mr. Hildreth to seek a residence on a plantation at the South, where he lived for about a year and a half, and wrote the story of "Archy Moore," subsequently, in 1852, republished in an enlarged form under the title of "The White Slave."

During the summer of 1836 Mr. Hildreth employed his pen in translating from the French of Dumont a work under the title of "Bentham's Theory of Legislation." He also at the same time wrote a "History of Banks," and passing the winter of 1837-38 in Washington as correspondent of the Boston *Atlas*, returned to the editorial chair a warm supporter of the election to the Presidency of Gen. Harrison.

Abandoning journalism, Mr. Hildreth next published his "Despotism in America," and in 1840, for the benefit of his health, again had resort to a warmer climate. During a three years' residence at Demerara, in British Guiana, he acted successively as editor of two newspapers published in Georgetown, the capital of the country, and also found time to write his "Theory of Morals," published in 1844, as well as the "Theory of Politics," printed in 1853. Mr. Hildreth then turned his attention to completing his "History of the United States." This afforded him constant occupation for seven years, during which he wrote little else. The first volume was issued in 1849, and the entire work in the three succeeding years.

The amount of literary drudgery, such as editing geographical cyclopedias and works of a similar character, which he has performed, attests his singular mental vigor and activity, as well as the inadequate remuneration of more congenial literary labor. Having busied himself in his comparatively leisure hours with the writing of his "Japan as it Was and as it Is," his health shortly afterward entirely gave way, which, in addition to the severe attacks of mental depression to which he had always been subject, prostrated him utterly.

In 1861 he received the appointment of United States Consul at Trieste, being then by the dying bed of his eldest sister, through whose earnest and tender solicitations he was, after much doubt and fear, induced to accept the position, and left her grave to embark for Europe. His wife and son accompanied him, and under the sunny skies of Italy he for a time recovered a good measure of his former health. But it soon again gave way under the pressure of his official and still continued literary labors. During the summer of last year he became almost insane, and recovered his mental consciousness only to sink gradually away into the arms of death at the age of fifty-eight years, one month and three days. He leaves a wife and a son about eighteen years of age to mourn his loss.

Commercial Advertiser.

Thursday Evening, August 3, 1865.

Death of Richard Hildreth, the Historian.

From the N. Y. Evening Post.

The following letter from Mr. Hunter, Acting Secretary of State, conveys the sorrowful intelligence of the death of Richard Hildreth, the well known author and historian of the United States:

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, July 28, 1865.

"Hon. Charles Sumner, U. S. Senator, Boston, Mass.:

"SIR: It is my painful duty to inform you that this Department has received intelligence from Mr. T. Bigelow Lawrence, United States Consul General at Florence, of the death, on the morning of the 11th inst., in that city of Richard Hildreth, Esq., late United States consul at Trieste.

"I will thank you to communicate this sad intelligence to the friends of the deceased. No further information regarding the melancholy event has been received at the Department.

"I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant.

"W. HUNTER, Acting Sec'y"

The event was not unexpected, as Mr. Hildreth has long been in enfeebled health; but the blow will be felt none the less severely. His labors in the field of literature were numerous and valuable; and all have the marks of his peculiar genius, his sharp and fearless temper, and the originality and independence of his opinions.

The father of Mr. Hildreth was a congregational clergyman of ability and some literary reputation, remarkable for the eclecticism of his religious sentiments and his dislike of all sectarian relations. He was for a time Professor of Mathematics at the Phillips Academy in Massachusetts, and afterwards pastor of a church at Gloucester.

Richard Hildreth was born at Deerfield on the 28th of June, 1807, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1826. He began the study of the law at Newburyport, and was admitted to the Suffolk county bar in 1830. He began practice immediately at Newburyport, removing subsequently to Boston.

His literary tastes began to manifest themselves at an early period. While pursuing his studies he was a contributor to a magazine in Boston, then conducted by Mrs. Sarah J. Hale, and afterwards became a writer for the *Boston Magazine*, then published by the elder Willis, and afterward furnished a series of articles for the *New England Magazine*, then edited by Joseph T. Buckingham. His legal career was brief. He had transferred his residence to Boston, when it was determined to establish the Boston *Atlas*, and Mr. Hildreth was secured as an editor of that journal, which was started in July, 1832. Ill health compelled him to resign that position in October, 1834, and he passed a year and a half on a plantation in Florida, where he wrote his anti-slavery novel "Archy Moore," which was extensively sold, and afterwards republished in this country and again in England. He resumed his connection with the *Atlas* in May, 1836, and until November, 1839, was its Washington correspondent.

At this time he took an active interest in politics and sustained the leading measures of the Whig party. His second published book, "Banks, Banking and Paper currency," was as exposition of the doctrines of that organization, and an attempt to defend the worst features of the American system. It was first issued about the time of the great financial crash of 1837, and passed to a new edition in 1840.

Mr. Hildreth was a warm admirer of General William Henry Harrison, and supported him for the Whig Presidential nomination. He published a biography of the General, which did important service in aiding that purpose, and his editorial contributions to the Boston *Atlas* warmly urged the claims of his favorite candidate.

About this time appeared Mr. Hildreth's work on "Despotism in America." It was forcibly written, earnest and dogmatic, even to

causticity. The enormities of the slaveholding power, the outrages perpetrated under its auspices, such as to systematize robbery of the United States mail with the approval of the general government, the atrocities perpetrated upon individuals, and the riots in northern cities at the instigation of southern leaders, were all rebuked. The mob in this city when the house of Lewis Tappin in Rose street was sacked, and the lives of others were endangered, and the riots of Boston and Philadelphia, were also forcibly depicted. The breaking up of the Anti-slavery Convention at Utica in 1835, by a "Committee of twenty-five," headed by Samuel Beardsley, Judge Hayden, Matteson and others, was castigated as it deserved. The slaveholding system was reviewed and condemned with all the severity of which Mr. Hildreth was capable.

His health again giving way, he left this country and resided for three years in the province of Demarara, British Guiana. He continued, however, to labor with indefatigable assiduity. While there he edited, in succession, two anti-slavery tri-weekly journals, at Georgetown, the *Guiana Chronicle* and the *Royal Gazette*. During his stay in that country he also wrote two works entitled the "Theory of Morals" and "Theory of Politics," which were published in this country after his return.

His career as an author had now become established. The great work of his life, the "History of the United States," was next undertaken; and the first three volumes appeared in 1849, covering the period extending from the discovery of the continent of America to the organization of the government under the Federal Constitution the next three volumes, extending from that period, till the end of the sixteenth Congress, in 1821. The whole work was then revised by him and published in a new edition in 1856. His purpose in this undertaking, as asserted by himself, was to give a plain and lucid narrative of events, presenting the founders of the American nation "wrapped up in no fine-spun cloaks of excuse and apology, without stilts, buskins, tinsel or bedizenment in their own proper person, often rude, hard, narrow, superstitious and mistaken, but always earnest, downright, manly and sincere." His narrative is correct and thorough; he evinced respect and liking for the men of whom he wrote, but protested against every disregard of personal rights and religious intolerance. He seems to have been, always conscious that he was writing history and not romance.

In 1855 the outrages in Kansas, and the unwarranted imprisonment of Passmore Williamson, by order of Judge Kane, for his complicity in the escape of a colored woman from slavery, had aroused popular indignation. Mr. Hildreth seized the occasion to place the Judge in a catalogue of infamy with those of former years, whose judicial conduct had disgraced the ermine.

He published a volume, carefully collated from Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chief Justices of England. It has the title of "Atrocious Judges; Lives of Judges Infamous as Tools of Tyrants and Instruments of Oppression." In this volume the circumstances of the Williamson case were set forth with forcible comments.

The following is a catalogue of Mr. Hildreth's works in the order of their publication:

1. The White Slave; or, Memoir of Andy Moore.
2. Banks, Banking and Paper Currencies.
3. Life of General William Henry Harrison.
4. Bentham's Theory of Legislation.
5. Despotism in America; an Inquiry into the Nature, Results and Legal Basis of the Slaveholding System of the United States.
6. Theory of Morals.
7. History of the United States of America.
8. Theory of Politics; an Inquiry into the Foundation of Governments and the Cause and Progress of Political Revolutions.
9. Japan as it Was and Is.
10. Atrocious Judges.

His pen was never idle. In addition to these volumes he also published a number of pamphlets on controversial subjects, theological as well as political; contributed to the newspapers and magazines, and maintained an extensive correspondence. He also wrote papers for the American Cyclopedia. The Boston *Transcript* describes him as follows:

"Mr. Hildreth was a man of peculiar views, verging upon intellectual and moral eccentricity. These views he embraced with ardor and enforced with persistent dogmatism. Of course he was often in the opposition to public sentiment and the advocate of doctrines that failed to meet popular favor. There can be no question, however, of the sincerity of his convictions, or that his was a powerful and earnest, even if it were also an erratic and wayward mind."

EBENEZER ROCKWOOD HOAR

"Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, the son of Samuel Hoar, a lawyer distinguished for his integrity no less than his talent, was born in Concord, Mass., 22d February, 1816.

"He pursued his preparatory studies at the Academy in his native town until 1831, when he entered Harvard, and was graduated in 1835, having an English oration as his 'part' at Commencement. Of his College career he thus speaks in the Class-Book: 'If every thing, during the last four years, has not been so agreeable as it might have been, the time has, at least, not been passed without improvement. I have each year been more and more satisfied, that for the test and establishment of character, no better place could be selected than Harvard University. Yet my College life has been by no means an unpleasant one. All causes of discomfort have sprung, I am well aware, from myself, and my own mistakes alone. A more united, generous class, better, kinder classmates, I could not have had. I shall always look back upon the days spent with them as the most valuable, I think the happiest portion of my life. Here, as has been well said, every one finds his level; the attachments formed, the impressions received, the intimate acquaintance gained of the tastes, and feelings, and characters of each other, are more just, and stronger than at any other period. I am truly sorry that it is over.'

"After graduation our classmate kept school for one year in Pittsburg, Pa.; after which he commenced the study of

Law, and on his admission to the Bar, in 1839, began the practice of his profession at Concord. In 1849 he became Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and served as such to 1855, when he opened a Law office in Boston. In 1859 he was made Judge of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts; and in 1869 resigned that dignified position to become Attorney General of the United States during the first Presidential term of General Grant, which he resigned the following year. In 1871 he was appointed a member of the Joint High Commission for the settlement of the Alabama Claims, by which body the Treaty of Washington was made that year. In 1872 he was chosen a Presidential Elector, and the same year was elected a Representative to Congress, where he served one term. In 1861 he received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Williams College, and in 1868 the same distinction was conferred by his Alma Mater. He has been a Fellow of Harvard University, and for many years President of the Board of Overseers of the University; and for eight years was President of the National Conference of the American Unitarian Church.

"On the 20th November, 1840, he was married to Caroline, daughter of Hon. Nathan Brooks, of Concord. Two sons and three daughters have been the issue of that union,* and all, with their mother, are now living. One of the daughters is married; both sons have embraced the legal profession, and bid fair to continue and sustain the ancestral reputation."

* MS. note: "Two other children were born, a daughter who died, and a son now living in California."

All the above is from Charles Horatio Gates, Memorials of the Class of 1835, Harvard University, Boston, 1886, pp. 57-58.

"I was born in the good town of Concord, on the twenty second day of February, 1816, a day somewhat remarkable as the birthday of Washington, Stevens, and myself. Nothing of Historical importance occurred, until, at the age of six, I commenced the study of the ancient languages at our village academy, which school I continued to attend from that time forth, until entering college. There was a succession of instructors, most of them as bad as could reasonably be desired. I contrived, however, to make tolerable proficiency in the usual branches of study; and entered college with a high opinion of my own talents and acquirements; expecting that college distinctions, and general admiration, would follow...." --From the MS. "Class Book of 1835," p. 86.

Samuel Hoar's children: (1) Elizabeth, born 1814; (2) Ebenezer Rockwood, born Feb. 21, 1816; (3) Sarah Sherman, born 1817; married Robert Storer; (4) Samuel Johnson, born 1820; died in infancy; (5) Edward Sherman, born 1823; married Elizabeth Prichard; (6) George Frisbie, born 1826; married Louisa Spurr and later Ruth Miller.

"...he was prepared for college at the old Academy, then supported by persons who wished and could afford to give their sons and daughters better educational advantages than the 'town school' could afford. His schoolfellows there were his sisters, and children of the Munroe, Whiting, Prichard, Davis, Thoreau, Prescott, and Ball families. There was an eager rivalry in scholarship between Elizabeth and Rockwood Hoar and their bright opposite neighbors, the Whitings. But the former were obliged to go to bed early. They devised a way to secure more time for their lessons and yet keep the letter of the household law. They went punctually to bed. But early rising was held a virtue; so they rose quietly while still the hours were small, raked out the brands of last evening's wood fire in the open fireplace, piled on kindlings and fresh wood, and by that cheerful light studied their Virgil and arithmetic, while their parents slept.

"The Concord Academy still stands, some fifty feet southwest of its old site, shorn of its interesting belfry and changed into a dwelling-house,--the second on the left on Middle Street. Before that street was thought of it occupied what is now the middle of the road, well back from Academy Lane, its green in front of it and a little yard behind.

"When Rockwood Hoar was one of the upper-class boys in the Academy, the master said to him, 'That word is incorrectly spelled. It should be thus'--giving his version. 'Where do you find authority for that spelling?' said the boy, the man of precedents in after years. The master named the authority. 'He's of less importance than the others who spell it as I did.' 'Well, you can spell it as I say on my authority,' said the master. 'The least of all!' observed the saucy boy.

"It should not be forgotten that in the spring of 1823, when Mr. Josiah Davis, who lived in the pillared house lately owned by Samuel Hoar, set out the elm trees, now large and handsome, that arch over Academy Lane, the little Rockwood, then seven years old, lent a hand to the work.

"In the summer of 1831, Rockwood Hoar, then fifteen years old, went to Cambridge as a freshman....

"[Elizabeth Hoar], in chemical phrase, as a flux to weld in lasting friendship persons of such widely different temperaments and pursuits as her brother Rockwood and Mr. Emerson. But in the like office for another loyal and valued friend she failed. Rockwood Hoar never rightly appreciated his schoolmate and neighbor, Henry Thoreau. 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' He would hardly admit it. One a man of law, honoring institutions, and of public service in the regular channels; the other a protestant against institutions whence it seemed as if the life had flown, and with a stronger sense of individual than civic duty, and perhaps the more originally religious of the two. One loved to worship his father's God in the time-honored ways; the other worshipped the informing spirit, all good and all beautiful, out of doors. Both were truth-telling, brave, pure, lovers of fine thoughts and literature, and lovers of flowers. Strangely enough, Elizabeth Hoar and Edward, her younger brother, another beautiful and tender spirit, were among Thoreau's nearest friends, and prized him aright. Yet Thoreau, in the last months of his life, writes to a friend that, now that he cannot walk, Rockwood Hoar has given him the daily use of his horse, and our late neighbor, Mr. Staples, believed that the unknown payer of Thoreau's poll-tax, to redeem him from jail to which he had gone for principle, was 'Squire Hoar. The Judge sent beautiful and fragrant hyacinths to his dying neighbor, which he enjoyed." ---Edward Waldo Emerson,

"Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar," Memoirs of...the Social Circle, IV, 4, 9, 10-12, 28.

"With Judge Hoar Mr. Emerson had from the early days of his Concord residence the bond of their common sister (for as such my father always regarded Miss Elizabeth Hoar), and this tie the Judge strengthened by his character and by his constant friendship, shown at need by acts of great kindness. His father, the Squire, as he was called in all this region, whose austere uprightness called to mind the image of a senator of Rome in her early days, was regarded with reverence and high esteem by Mr. Emerson, although the two men in their tastes and sympathies were very wide apart."---Edward Waldo Emerson, Emerson in Concord, p. 119.

[See also Moorfield Storey and Edward W. Emerson, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar: A Memoir, Boston & N.Y., 1911.]

Boston Journal.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1895.

JUDGE HOAR DEAD.

Eminent Citizen and Jurist Breathes His Last.

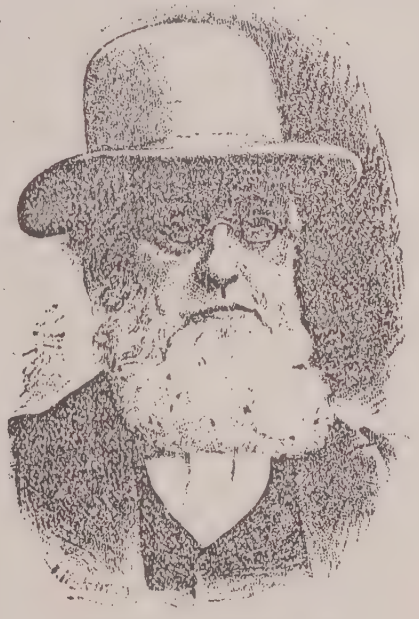
Long Life Crowned With Honor and Fame.

Tributes Paid Him by Loving Fellow-Citizens.

Testimonials to the Purity of His Public Life.

Hon. E. Rockwood Hoar, whose illness, which began on Friday, Dec. 7, has been watched with deep anxiety not only by his family and fellow townsmen, but by a grateful nation, closed his earthly career at his home in Concord, at 7.52 P. M. on Thursday. Immediately thereafter the bell of the First Parish tolled 78 strokes.

The venerable sufferer had been under the influence of morphine since Wednesday morning, and he passed away while unconscious. At the bedside were Dr. George E. Titcomb, his physician, the sons, Sherman and Samuel, and the daughters, Caroline and Clara. The funeral will probably be on Sunday.



THE LATE E. ROCKWOOD HOAR.

Brave in Sickness as in Life.

The cheerfulness of the Judge, who knew that this was his last illness, was remarkable. He showed his true greatness more in his last illness even than in his noble, active life. His daughters, Caroline, Clara and Mrs. Rowles, were with him from the first. Samuel Hoar and Sherman called every day. Very many letters were received by the Judge from all over the world, to many of which he dictated answers. Flowers of the most beautiful species, the gifts of his friends, constantly filled his room.

His brother, Senator George F. Hoar, visited him several times, the last time was just before leaving for Washington. John Holmes, the brother of Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Charles Francis Adams, also called, and were able to talk with the Judge.

The Judge, just before his death, gave to Charles Francis Adams the sleeve buttons of John Quincy Adams, which were given to Judge Hoar by Charles Sumner. The Judge expressed the wish to live until his eightieth year, which would commence on the 21st of February.

E. Rockwood Hoar, son of Samuel and Sarah (Sherman) Hoar, was born in Concord, Middlesex county, Feb. 21, 1816. He is the brother of United States Senator George Frisbie Hoar of Worcester. On the paternal side he is descended from a long line of cultured, patriotic and influential ancestors; and on the maternal side is the grandson of Roger Sherman.

Having been well fitted in primary and academic schools he entered Harvard University, from which he was graduated in the class of 1835. He then taught school a year in the city of Pittsburg, Penn.; later on he studied law in the Law School of Harvard University, receiving therefrom his degree of LL. B. in 1839. The same year he was admitted to the bar. In 1846 he was elected to the State Senate; served as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas from 1849 to 1855, and Judge of the Supreme Judicial Court from 1859 to 1869.

The honorary degree of LL. D. was subsequently (1861) conferred by Williams, and a second time (1883) by his alma mater, whom he has so long and faithfully served. For nearly a quarter of a century he was a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard, and for nearly half of that period served as President of the board.

A Monumental Labor.

In March, 1869, Mr. Hoar was appointed by Gen. Grant Attorney General of the United States, and discharged the duties of that office until June, 1870. This position, as member of the President's Cabinet and his confidential adviser on all points involving questions of interstate or international law, proved for him a school preparatory to the highest diplomatic triumph. In consultation with President Grant on the affairs and administration of the Government, its relations to foreign Powers, and particu-

larly to Great Britain, necessarily and frequently came under protracted discussion.

The result was his appointment as one of the members of the Joint High Commission which negotiated the treaty between the United States of America and the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in 1871. The settlement of this treaty of Washington was one of the most notable events of the 19th century, disposing as it did of five different subjects of controversy between Great Britain and the United States, some of which dated from the very proclamation of American Independence, and were perpetually rising to the surface of discussion to vex and disturb the good understanding between the kindred nations. The treaty has already attained the dignity of a monumental act in the estimation of mankind and is destined to occupy hereafter a conspicuous place in the history of the diplomacy and international jurisprudence of Europe and America. It has fallen to few men to perform such signal service to mankind in the removal of all difficulties between the friendly intercourse and beneficent co-operation of the two leading powers of the world. The American nation owes and gladly pays Judge Hoar the meed of a respectful and grateful acknowledgment, and the State of Massachusetts will long cherish the fame of the son who reflected such glory upon her training and institutions

Another and scarcely less conspicuous service, and one not so generally known, was his influential agency in arranging for the first loan made by the United States Government at another critical period of its history. He was one of the few patriotic citizens who, in connection with Secretary Chase and President Lincoln, successfully negotiated this important financial operation with the capitalists of Boston, New York and Philadelphia, instead of going abroad for assistance.

Mr. Hoar was a Presidential elector-at-large in 1872, and was elected to the Forty-third Congress as a Republican, receiving 11,742 votes against 5989 cast for the Democratic nominee.

Mr. Hoar was married in Concord Nov. 20, 1846, to Caroline D., daughter of Hon. Nathan and Caroline (Downes) Brooks. Of this union were seven children, Caroline, Sarah Sherman (deceased), Samuel, Charles Emerson, Clara Downes, Elizabeth and Sherman Hoar.

In a long and eventful life Mr. Hoar has belonged to many social and political clubs, but of all the organizations with which he has been connected, the Saturday Club has been to him the occasion of rarest delight and choicest companionship, meeting there in fraternal converse the artistic and literary stars, himself par nobile fratrum, which have shone so brilliantly in the firmament of belles-lettres.

HIS LAST DAYS.

He Was Taken Ill in December Last—A Sufferer From Heart Trouble.

Judge Hoar was taken sick on Friday, Dec. 7, although he had been troubled with difficulty in breathing and loss of appetite for four or five weeks previous. Dr. George E. Titcomb, who had charge of the case from the first, was immediately called and remained with him through Saturday. On Saturday evening he was very restless, not being able to get his breath at all regularly, either while sitting up or reclining. His pulse was very poor, and at one time in the night it was thought that he would die. But on Sunday he rallied and was quite bright again. For several weeks, one day he would be seemingly much better, the next would be very weak, and it seemed that he would die at any moment.

On the afternoon of Dec. 31 a consultation was held between Dr. H. H. A. Beach of Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, an old friend of Judge Hoar, and Dr. George E. Titcomb, the attending physician. The case was pronounced heart disease. The Judge was able to sit up each day without difficulty until Jan. 7, when he was able only to sit up while having his bed made. On the 8th he was unable to get up at all. Since then until death his condition has been fluctuating.

"THE BEST MAN FOR CONCORD."

Col. Richard F. Barrett's High Tribute to His Dead Friend and Townsman.

"He was the biggest and the best man for Concord that has ever lived here, and I say this remembering a very good father and grandfather and Ralph Waldo Emerson. I care not how the world may place him. I speak of him as a Concord man, of what he was to Concord, remembering what he has done for Concord." Thus spoke Col. Richard F. Barrett, the Secretary of the Middlesex Fire Insurance Company, and, though a young man, one of Judge Hoar's closest friends, when talking to a Journal reporter of the death of the Judge.

"There is not a man in Concord today who does not mourn him. He was a true friend, a never failing friend, and a loyal townsman. He was interested in Concord, and everything he could do for Concord he did, and did cheerfully, and did quietly. He had a sharp tongue, and a great heart. He was fearless in thought and speech and action. He would go out of his way to do a kind action. He bore malice toward no man. And I do not think that in all the town he had an enemy. You could not know him without growing to love him.

"I saw a great deal of him, in connection with the Unitarian Church here, the old First Parish of Concord. He took part in its affairs and conduct when it was part of the town, and after the separation his interest continued and held up to the very last. He has always contributed liberally to the funds of the church. Only this year, when he knew death was so close at hand, when no one went to him, he sent a large check as his share of the church's contribution to the American Unitarian Association.

"I shall always think of him as he appeared at Saratoga, when presiding over the annual meeting of the association. The town of Concord has suffered, in his death and that of Rev. Grindall Reynolds, a loss that cannot be made up.

"He was a man of large charities, and yet did them so quietly that few persons knew of them. He was always helping somebody, and to give a list of his benefactions would take a very long time, as they extended over many years, and went out to many, many people. He was a strong partisan, but he never allowed himself to hold any personal feelings on this account. He would do the kindest things, in the gentlest manner, to men who had opposed him politically and fought him personally."

GOV. GREENHALGE.

Deeply Moved at Judge Hoar's Death. He Pays a Heartfelt Tribute to Him.

(Special Dispatch to the Boston Journal.)

Lowell, Mass., Jan. 31.—Gov. Greenhalge was greatly moved when he heard of the death of Judge Hoar. He said of him:

"Judge Hoar was not only a product of Massachusetts, but he was a part of Massachusetts. He had a life, intellect illuminated by a fine, keen humor.

"Apparently cold in temperament, this appearance was only superficial. He was really a man of deep and tender emotions.

"The quality of his legal work was severe and uncompromising, and made his career at the Bar and upon the Bench most significant and interesting.

JUDGE HOAR'S WILL

GIVES $10,000 TO HARVARD COLLEGE.

It is to be a Fund for Meritorious Undergraduates from Concord—His Children and Friends Remembered by Gifts of Money or Valuable Heirlooms and Books.

The will of the late Judge Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar of Concord, Mass., was filed at the E. Cambridge court yesterday. Its provisions are: In the first clause $1000 is left to each of his grandchildren born before his death and who survives him.

The second clause says:—

I give and devise to my son, Samuel Hoar, his heirs and assigns, my wood lot adjoining Waltham Pond, and lying between land of George Heywood and land formerly of R. W. Emerson, and my set of the reports of the supreme judicial court of Massachusetts. The rest of my law books in Boston, with the furniture, busts, pictures and the Cabinet Table, used in the White House at Washington, D. C., from Madison to Grant, which I bought from the U. S., now in the office of my son Samuel, I give to my sons Samuel and Sherman.

Third—I give to my daughters, Caroline and Clara Downs, my pew, numbered 19, in the meeting house of the First Parish in Concord, with the horse shed, number 7, near said meeting house.

Fourth—I give to my son, Charles Emerson Hoar, the silver cup given to me in 1865 by R. W. Emerson.

In the fifth clause Judge Hoar gave to his daughters in law, Mary, wife of Sherman Hoar, $500 and to Helen his photograph album of the joint high commission of 1871. To his son Sherman he gave his full length portrait of the judge's grandfather, Roger Sherman of Connecticut.

In the sixth clause he gave to his son in law, Samuel Bowles, his copy of the works of Benjamin Franklin and the diary of J. Q. Adams.

I give to the president and fellows of Harvard College $10,000, the income to be applied to the education of meritorious undergraduates of said college from the town of Concord, either immediately after entering or later. If such fail to apply them to accumulate until the principals shall reach the sum of $12,000, which shall constitute two scholarships; and whenever no Concord boy shall apply for

either, the income for the year may be given by the corporation to another undergraduate.

In the eighth clause Judge Hoar gave $1000 each to the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Concord free public library.

To the Concord Home for the Aged, 10 shares of the preferred stock of the Fitchburg R.R.

To the Concord Antiquarian Society, $200.

To "my valued friend, Rev. Grindall Reynolds, if he shall survive me, $200."

To the Concord free public library, when it shall have created a picture gallery, my pictures, "Criticism," by E. E. Simmons, and "A Camp in the Adirondacks," by W. J. Stillman.

In the ninth clause Judge Hoar gave "to my friends, Margaret McSweeney and John McSweeney, each $150."

Tenth—I give to my native town of Concord $2000, to be safely invested, and the increase added to the principal, and, in the year 1925, and in every 25th year thereafter, so much of the existing accumulations of interest as the town shall think it shall be used for the celebration of the 19th of April, 1775, and the surplus, if any, for such educational purposes as the town may determine; the principal, however, to be always kept entire.

In the eleventh clause Judge Hoar gave all the rest and residue of the estate, real and personal property, to his 6 children, their heirs and assigns, respectively, in equal shares.

In the twelfth clause Judge Hoar appointed his son, Samuel Hoar, his executor, and requested that no surety be required on his official bond.

The will was drawn up and signed June 7, 1894. The witnesses were William Barrett, Adams Tolman and Gertrude May Hoyt.

Boston Advertiser, June 22, 1895.

OBITUARY.

Judge E. R. Hoar, brother of Senator Hoar, died last evening in Concord, Mass., having been unconscious for twenty-four hours. He was born in Concord, Mass., on Feb. 21, 1816, and graduated from Harvard in the class of 1835. He then taught school a year in Pittsburgh. Later he studied law in the Law School of Harvard University, receiving therefrom his degree LL. B. in 1839. The same year he was admitted to the bar. In 1846 he was elected to the State Senate. He served as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas from 1849 to 1855, and Judge of the Supreme Judicial Court from 1859 to 1868. The honorary degree of LL.D. was subsequently (1861) conferred by Williams College, and a second time (1868) by his alma mater. For nearly a quarter of a century he was a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard, and for nearly half of that period he served as President of the Board. In March, 1869, Mr. Hoar was appointed by Gen. Grant Attorney-General of the United States, and discharged the duties of that office until June, 1870. This office, as member of the President's Cabinet and his confidential adviser on all questions of law, proved for him a school preparatory to higher honors. In the single year he retained the office he reorganized the department, and by act of Congress had it dignified into a district department of the Government under the title of Department of Justice. In 1870 he was nominated for a place on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, but was not confirmed. Later he became a member of the Joint High Commission which negotiated the Treaty of Washington in 1872. He represented the Seventh Massachusetts district in Congress from 1873 to 1875, and in 1874 was an unsuccessful candidate for the seat in the United States Senate made vacant by the death of Charles Sumner.

New York Sun, Feb. 1, 1895.

EDWARD SHERMAN HOAR

"...brother of Senator Hoar and Judge E. Rockwood Hoar, died in Washington Wednesday, in the seventieth year of his age. Mr. Hoar had recently been living in Concord, Mass., but he spent much of his life in California, where he was prominent as a lawyer, and also achieved distinction as a scientist. Much of his early life was devoted to the study of natural history, particularly to botany and geology, in which he was international authority. He was a warm friend of the late Professor Agassiz, and the works of that distinguished scientist contain many references to the scientific labors and researches of Mr. Hoar. He was invited many times by the colleges of New England to deliver lectures on geology and other branches of natural science, but he always declined these invitations. He was district attorney of California many years ago. He spent some years in Sicfly as an orange grower. Mr. Hoar was selected to go on the scientific expedition on which Francis Parkman, who took his place, made his fame."

--Boston Transcript, Feb. 23, 1893.

"With Edward Hoar...[Augustine F.] Hinchman came to California in 1849, by way of the Isthmus...."

--San Francisco Chronicle, Jan. 21, 1899.

GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR

STORY OF HIS LIFE.

Coming of a Notable Family, He Achieved Distinction Such as Falls to Few American Statesmen.

Senator Hoar has been called a typical New Englander, but no one really familiar with the politicians of the six New England States would agree to that definition of the late senator from Massachusetts. As Senator Edmunds was a typical Vermonter and Senator Frye an excellent type of the Maine politician, so Senator Hoar seemed, under a more restricted classification, to be emphatically a typical Massachusetts statesman. His lineage, his surroundings in youth and his education joined to make him peculiarly a Massachusetts statesman. A scholar-politician, the product of the town of Concord and Harvard College. His family, from the first immigrant of the name down through seven generations born and nurtured on Massachusetts soil, always maintained an honorable, and frequently attained a conspicuous, place in the commonwealth.

The Hoar family has furnished Massachusetts with eminent lawyers, publicists, soldiers, jurists and statesmen. Of John Hoar, son of the first immigrant of the name, it is noted that he was distinguished for his "bold and independent mind and action." Jonathan Hoar served in the provincial wars, and in recognition of his services the British government commissioned him governor of Newfoundland. The senator's grandfather, Samuel Hoar, a native of Lexington, represented the town of Lincoln in the state legislature.

The memory of the senator's father, also Samuel Hoar, is still cherished among the men who first opened warfare against the aggressions of the slave

power. Samuel Hoar was a man of sturdy character, liberal acquirements and distinguished service to the state. He was a graduate of Harvard in 1802, and for 40 years was the leader of the Middlesex bar. He was a delegate to the constitutional convention of 1820, sat in the state Legislatures of 1826 and 1828, represented Massachusetts in Congress in 1826-7, and served in the Governor's council in 1845-46.

Senator Hoar's father was one of the earliest Free-Soilers and one of the founders of the Republican party. In 1843-44 he was the chief actor in a politically dramatic episode. Under a resolve of the Massachusetts Legislature he had been sent to Charleston, S. C., in the capacity of a commissioner deputed to test in the United States court in that city the constitutionality of an act passed by the Legislature of South Carolina legalizing the imprisonment of colored persons entering that state. Public excitement regarding Mr. Hoar's mission ran so high that he was forced to make a hurried departure from Charleston in order to prevent a popular outbreak. This event, together with his honorable public services in other fields, had given him a more than local reputation. In 1848 he was president of the Free-Soil convention held at Worcester and later on he was one of the candidates balloted for at the time of the election of Charles Sumner to the United States Senate.

Senator Hoar's Mother the Daughter of Roger Sherman.

On the maternal side, Senator Hoar was allied by blood to one of Connecticut's patriot families, his father having married, in 1812, Sarah Sherman, a daughter of Roger Sherman, a name dear to all Americans. Of this marriage were born Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar and George Frisbie Hoar, the latter at Concord Aug. 29, 1826. The elder brother, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, was a member of Congress, a judge of the Massachusetts supreme court and President Grant's first attorney-general. While occupying the latter position he was nominated to the supreme court, but was rejected by the Senate early in 1870.

Ancestry and heredity largely explain the mental make-up of Senator Hoar. But one important factor, always a powerful one in the career of any man, remains to be considered. His education was remarkable, in that his mind, at a peculiarly impressionable stage, was moulded by one of the most erudite women of the century. Mrs. Ripley of Concord fitted young Hoar for college. She was a woman of whom President Everett of Harvard had said that she could fill any professorship in the college. It was under Mrs. Ripley's tuition that the college authorities used to place students who had been suspended for a time, and she kept them up with their classes in every study, "doing the work which would have been divided among a dozen male teachers in the college. She was one of the few persons in this country who are said to have read 'The Mecanique Celeste' in the original, without the aid of the translation of Dr. Bowditch, a Greek and Latin scholar to whose studies Aeschylus and Homer and Virgil were familiar. She was well acquainted with the languages and literatures of modern Europe, and could tell naturalists like Tuckerman and Gray some things about their own studies which they were glad to hear."

Undoubtedly the pupil's admiration for his learned and accomplished teacher disposed his mind to receive with favor the proposition that women should be admitted to participation in the suffrage. A certain idealism and chivalry regarding women was a prominent characteristic of Senator Hoar, which William S. Robinson, a keen observer, traced to the influence of Mrs. Ripley. Indeed, we have the senator's own words in confirmation of this opinion. In a speech before a committee of the Legislature in 1868 Mr. Hoar said, speaking of Mrs. Ripley: "Yet that instructed brain that could have taught the best railroad engineer the most difficult principles of his art could not be permitted in Concord to express a choice for the highway surveyor who should mend the road past her door. The woman to whom some of the best intellects in the state owed their best accomplishments could not be trusted to attend a town meeting to aid in the selection of a committeeman for the district school to which her grandchild was sent."

Reading Law in the Office of Judge Thomas in 1849.

From Mrs. Ripley's preparatory tutoring young Hoar passed to Harvard College, whence he was graduated in 1846. Adopting the law as his profession, he studied in his father's office and attended lectures at the Dane law school at Cambridge during two years. In 1849 he was reading law in the office of Judge E. F. Thomas in Worcester, where he had made his home. The same year he began the practice of his profession in that city. In 1857 he formed a law partnership with Emory Washburn, afterward Governor. Subsequently

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The senator was unconscious, a state in which he had lain since Sunday, when his last nourishment, two ounces of milk, was taken.

He slowly sank away. His vitality since his illness developed alarming conditions, on Aug. 3, has been remarkable.

He has taken since that date scarcely enough nourishment to sustain life in an infant. The case was originally one of Washington malaria, and developed into lumbago. It was necessary, in consequence of his illness, for him to return to Worcester before the adjournment of Congress.

He came here under explicit orders from his physician not to attend or participate in any public occasion, but he disregarded their instructions on three occasions.

One was the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the town of Sutton, when a monument, erected to the memory of Gen. Putnam, the founder of Ohio, was dedicated.

Another occasion was the presentation to the high school of the city of Worcester of an historical memento.

The third occasion was the memorial exercises in the Worcester county superior court at the time of the death of Col. E. B. Stoddard, when Senator Hoar delivered the address. Col. Stoddard and the senator had been close friends for many years.

Immediately after these exercises the senator was confined to his bed, and left it only occasionally for a few hours a day until early in August.

Since Aug. 3 he has not been out of bed, and his condition has been such that not more than a half dozen of his very closest friends outside the family circle have been permitted to see him.

During his illness he had several sinking spells when he was thought to be at the point of death. The first report that the public received that he was critically ill was given out about Aug. 1. The family of the senator and his physician emphatically denied this report.

On Aug. 3, however, the senator had a change when it was feared he would not live 24 hours. The bulletins from the house every day since then have been expressive only of hope. Invariably they have been: "We hope the senator will live for the next 24 hours."

Almost the last occasion when the senator displayed any interest in political or business affairs was on Thursday, two weeks ago, when the time expired for filing nomination papers for candidates to be voted for at the caucuses of last Tuesday. Gen. Hoar aspired to the Republican nomination in the 3d district, and all the delegates to the congressional convention were pledged to him. The senator expressed gratification that such a political condition existed and believed that it meant his son's success at the polls in November, and that thus one of the dearest wishes of his life, the perpetuation of his name in the halls of Congress, would be fulfilled.

On Aug. 28 the senator's 78th birthday anniversary occurred. He was particularly bright on that day, and his grandchildren and several of his friends, among them the Hon. Henry A. Marsh, visited his chamber.

Another recent caller was the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, chaplain of the United States Senate and his lifelong friend and first pastor of the Church of the Unity, Worcester, of which Senator Hoar was one of the original members. This visit occurred about three weeks ago.

Senator Lodge has twice visited his dying colleague, the second visit being made on Wednesday last. On this last occasion Senator Hoar was unable to see him.

During the entire period of the senator's illness messages have reached him from all parts of the country and from England as well, and resolutions of sympathy have been received from all sorts of organizations.

These messages represented men of all stations in life, and all creeds and colors. They included one from President Roosevelt.

Although no arrangements have yet been made, it is expected that Dr. Hale will conduct the funeral, the date of which has not yet been fixed. The burial will probably be at Concord, the senator's birthplace.

WORCESTER NOTIFIED.

News of Senator's Death Announced by Signal on Fire Alarm and Tolling of Church Bells.

WORCESTER, Sept. 30, 1904. When the death of Senator Hoar was announced by telephone from his residence a signal was sent on the fire alarm circuit of the city and the long expected news was conveyed to the citizens by the tolling of the church bells a few minutes later. Arrangements were made to notify the people of Worcester in this manner more than a month ago, when the physicians attending him decided that the venerable legislator was on his deathbed.

"We had fewer studies at our school than now. The boys who did not go to college learned to read and write, perhaps an elementary history of the United States, and arithmetic, and occasionally made some little progress in algebra. On Saturdays we used to 'speak pieces.' Our favorites were some spirited lyric, like 'Scots Wha Hae' or Pierpont's 'Stand, the ground's your own, my braves,' 'The boy stood on the burning deck,' and 'Bernardo del Carpio.' Sometimes, though not often, some comic piece was chosen, like Jack Downing's 'Tax on Old Bachelors.'

"Those who fitted for college added Latin and Greek to these studies. The children were sent to school earlier than is the present fashion, and had long school hours and few vacations. There were four vacations in the year, of a week each, and three days at Thanksgiving time. Little account was made of Christmas. The fashion of Christmas presents was almost wholly unknown. The boys used to be allowed to go out of school to study in the warm summer days, and would find some place in a field, and sometimes up in the belfry of the little schoolhouse. I remember studying Cæsar there with George Brooks, afterward judge, and reading with him an account of some battle where Cæsar barely escaped being killed, on which Brooks's comment was, 'I wish to thunder he had been!'

"We were put to school much earlier than children are now, and were more advanced in our studies on the whole. I began to study Latin on my sixth birthday. When I was nine years old I was studying Greek, and had read several books of Virgil. We were not very thorough Latin scholars, even when we entered college, but could translate Virgil and Cicero and Cæsar and easy Greek like Xenophon.

"I knew Henry Thoreau very intimately. I went to school with him when I was a little boy and he was a big one. Afterward I was a scholar in his school.

"He was very fond of small boys, and used to take them out with him in his boat, and make bows and arrows for them, and take part in their games. He liked also to get a number of the little chaps of a Saturday afternoon and take them out in his boat, or for a long walk in the woods.

"He knew the best places to find huckleberries and blackberries and chestnuts and lilies and cardinal and other rare flowers. We used to call him Trainer Thoreau, because the boys called the soldiers the 'trainers,' and he had a long measured stride and an erect carriage which made him seem something like a soldier, although he was short and rather ungainly in figure. He had a curved nose which reminded one a little of the beak of a parrot.

"His real name was David Henry Thoreau, although he changed the order of his first two names afterward. He was a great finder of Indian arrow-heads, spear-heads, pestles, and other stone implements which the Indians had left behind them, of which there was great abundance in the Concord fields and meadows.

"He knew the rare forest birds and all the ways of birds and wild animals. Naturalists commonly know birds and beasts and flowers as a surgeon who has dissected the human body, or perhaps sometimes a painter who has made pictures of them knows men and women. But he knew birds and beasts as one boy knows another--all their delightful little habits and fashions. He had the most wonderful good fortune. We used to say that if anything happened in the deep woods which only came about once in a hundred years, Henry Thoreau would be sure to be on the spot at the time and know the whole story.

"I retained his friendship to his death. I have taken many a long walk with him. I used to go down to see him in the winter days in my vacations in his hut near Walden. He was capital company. He was a capital guide in the wood. He liked to take out the boys in his boat. He was fond of discoursing. I do not think he was vain. But he liked to do his thinking out loud, and expected that you should be an auditor rather than a companion.

"I have heard Thoreau say in private a good many things which afterward appeared in his writings. One day when we were walking, he leaned his back against a rail fence and discoursed of the shortness of the time since the date fixed for the creation, measured by human lives. 'Why,' he said, 'sixty old women like Nabby Kettle' (a very old woman in Concord), 'taking hold of hands, would span the whole of it.' He repeats this in one of his books, adding, 'They would be but a small tea-party, but their gossip would make universal history.'" --George Frisbie Hoar, Autobiography of Seventy Years, (2 vols.), N.Y., 1903, I, 52-54, 70-71, 72. See also his "A Boy Sixty Years Ago," reprinted from Youth's Companion, March 10, 17, 24, 1898. See his Memoir of Samuel Hoar, Cambridge, 1882.

JOHN SHEPARD KEYES

[The following, from the autobiography of Keyes, is taken from Raymond Adams, "Thoreau at Harvard, Some Unpublished Records," N E Q, XIII (March, 1940), pages 31-33.]

The Monday before Commencement, then the last Wednesday in August, was the appointed time. To reach Cambridge in season involved then going down Sunday night, and my arrangements to spend the nights with David Henry Thoreau, as we all called him then, had all been comfortably agreed upon.... Nothing memorable can I remember happened on that momentous ride bearing a green boy to the first of his decisive trials in real life, and I was dropped at the yard gate where Thoreau met me and took me to his room in Stoughton. I was anxious of the morrow's fate, overawed by the dull old college walls, and not a little inclined to be over-thoughtful at the sudden change it all implied. But these fancies were soon dispelled, a burst of Thoreau's classmates into his room, headed by Charles Theodore Russell, Trask[16] and others who chaffed Thoreau and his Freshman in all sorts of amusing ways, and took down some of our local pride and Concord self-conceit for which I soon found out that my host was as distinguished in college as afterwards. These roaring seniors fresh from vacation's fun and with no more college duties to worry about made a sharp contrast to a Sunday evening at home. It was seeing something of the end before even the beginning. There had been some kind of a row with the faculty

and the trouble was carried into the Criminal Court and I had heard the county side of it at home and now was told the students' side by some of the actors or sympathizers and got some ideas of college discipline that varied essentially from the home notion. It was startling and novel to hear "Old Prex" and other nicknames familiarly applied to such dignitaries as Concord had almost worshipped, and I fear that the introduction wasn't of the most useful sort to just such a boy as I was.

[The following sections from Judge Keyes' "Autobiography" are reprinted from Amelia F. Emerson, "John Shepard Keyes," Memoirs of...the Social Circle, V, 73, 75-76, 77-78, 80-81.]

"When six years old [1827] I began to attend the Academy then kept by Phineas Allen, the poorest teacher and worst school I ever knew anything about personally. At that time, as was the custom, I began Latin, and for seven long years I was kept at that study, with Greek added when eight years old, without learning anything of either or anything else at that school. Here for schoolmates I had among the older boys William Whiting, Lincoln's Solicitor, of the War Department; Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, Grant's Attorney General; William M. Prichard, of the New York Bar; Hiram B. Dennis and J. Fay Barrett, of the Boston Bar; John and Henry Thoreau, of the Musketaquid Bar; and I think for a term or more Honorable William M. Evarts.

"On the corner of the lane and the main road was Colonel Whiting's large carriage factory in which all branches of the work were carried on. Right in front of the Academy was the shop where the silver plating of carriages and harnesses was done. Here Plater Brooks, a kindly old man, worked by himself many years, and here I studied harder and learned more than in school.

"On Main Street, opposite that end of Academy Lane, was Josiah Davis's general store and dwelling house, where much trade was carried on with the neighboring townspeople. Beyond this to the river there were but two houses on each side of Main Street, and the fields were cultivated or pastures, like those of any other farms.

"I was now in my 'teens, a forward, smart, impudent, mischievous boy, fully up to my place in the world, and quite ready to take a hand in anything going on. The anti-Masonic excitement was raging. Father was a Mason, and King of the Concord Chapter, and I was dubbed Prince John. Politics were personal then if ever, and in 1834 they culminated in Concord in a manner that affected me permanently. At the March meeting that year the anti-Masons carried the Town and turned out Dr. Abiel Heywood the Clerk, Selectman, and factotum of the Town for thirty years, and elected Phin Allen, our Academy teacher, to the Clerkship. It was a revolution. The next morning I was told that I was not to go to school any more. It was high time it was ended. I had played truant every afternoon that previous winter--with no rebuke from the teacher, report to my parents, or effect on my lessons.

"On June 1, 1834, we began a new private school kept by Mr. William Whiting in the upper hall of the Academy building. The newest books and methods, the zeal of the new teacher, and the inspiration of real knowledge made the school a success from the start. In a year and a quarter I learned more, ten times over, from Mr. Whiting than I had in the seven years of Mr. Allen, and acquired habits of study and application I had never before imagined possible. Latin became a delight and an actual language, Greek unfolded its mysteries and beauties, French its grace, and arithmetic and algebra became the fascinations of exact science. He introduced us to Shakespeare, to Plutarch, to Burke, and to English literature generally. What a revelation this time was to me, and to most of the others!

"The great event in 1835 was the Concord Bicentennial on September 12. Mr. Emerson gave the oration, and the old church was packed so full that props were put under the galleries, and yet one of them settled alarmingly with the weight. I remember well occupying the highest point in the audience, sitting astride the door of the north gallery--and being so interested in the oration that I was not willing to move even when the rush was made to escape from the opposite gallery that cracked ominously. I had never enjoyed so much in a day before, and I kept the manuscript of Emerson's oration to this day as my greatest treasure.

"The only interruption to preparation for college under the tutelage of Rev. Barzillai Frost that I recall was the Fourth of July dedication of the Battle Monument in 1836. This had been standing some six months, getting built after a dozen years' fight over it in the Town.... I remember it well. It was a very hot, sunny, July day. After the noon salute and bell ringing the village became as quiet as of a Sunday. About three o'clock the procession, escorted by the military companies, but a straggling advance, consisting mainly of the townspeople, men, women, and children, came slowly along the Common and passed up the road to the old North Bridge. There were assembled about the Monument two or three hundred, seated on the grass, who listened to a prayer by Mr. Frost, an oration by Samuel Hoar, and then Mr. Emerson's hymn was sung by all who could join in full chorus. This hymn was printed on slips of paper about six inches square and plentifully supplied to the audience. I kept mine, and notice the alterations Mr. Emerson has since made in it, by comparing this with his book of poems....

"I was not fit for a schoolmaster, had no facilities for getting into business, and as Father evidently preferred it, I entered my name in his office September 19, 1841, my twentieth birthday, and began Blackstone.... Into all the life there was going on then in Concord I was soon plunged. I kept pretty strictly to my work in the daytime, but my evenings were devoted to something else. Mr. Emerson had then the habit of assembling at his house all the villagers that were interested in the discussions of the Transcendentalists, by whom he was surrounded. Margaret Fuller, A. B. Alcott, et id omne genus, held forth in his parlor to any who would listen, and an additional attraction to me was 'Saint Mary' (Mary Russell), then teaching his children and living there, who inspired me with something of the worship devout Catholics have for their saints, and drew me there oftener than philosophy would.

"I had kept up my pleasant acquaintance with Thoreau, who was [a little later] living in his shanty at Walden, where I sometimes went to see him, and

oftener met him in his walks or on the river. I had some of his naturalist instincts and tastes and used to compare notes with him of birds and beasts, though I was no botanist as he was. His life at Walden has been somewhat misrepresented, as it was by no means so much that of a hermit as is now thought. He was at Mr. Emerson's and the village nearly every day, often partaking of meals there and at his father's house, and though not intrusive was altogether too egotistic to be either shy or retiring. He loved the woords, the pond, and the river, and having met a disappointment in his other love sought their consolation in preference to that of society."

THE BOSTON GLOBE, MAY 16, 1910.

JUDGE KEYES OF CONCORD DEAD

Career Full of Honor in Service of Town, State and Nation.

JUDGE KEYES' LIFE LONG AND ACTIVE

CONCORD, Mass, May 15—Judge John S. Keyes, one of the best known and oldest residents of Concord, died today in the Massachusetts general hospital, Boston, in his 89th year.

He had been in poor health more than two months, and had been under treatment in the hospital about three weeks. Although his death was not unexpected, it was a shock to the residents of this town. When word of his death was received here, shortly after 10 this morning, bells throughout the town were tolled.

The funeral services will be held at 4 Tuesday afternoon in the First Parish meeting house at Concord. The burial will be private.

John Shepard Keyes was born in Concord, Mass, Sept 19, 1821, son of John and Ann Shepard Keyes, and the oldest of five children, two sisters dying in youth. His place of birth was on Monument st, in a house which stood very close to the courthouse, and was burned with it in 1849.

He fitted for college in the Concord schools, and entered Harvard college in 1837, from which he was graduated four years later. He continued his education with a course in the Harvard law school. He was admitted to the bar in 1844, and soon gained an extensive law practice.

Held Most Town Offices.

Early in life he took an active interest in town affairs and soon after his graduation from college began his career as a town official, which lasted over half a century.

In 1849 he was superintendent of public grounds and his first report to the town was in the following year. From that time until 1901 he had one or more reports to make each year to the citizens of Concord. He held at different times practically all the town offices, appointive and elective. He was a member of the board of selectmen and school committee, serving as chairman of each.

In all matters pertaining to the welfare of his native town he was an active worker, especially on committees in charge of public works and anniversaries. He was chairman of the committee which purchased the land and developed the famous Sleepy Hollow cemetery in 1856.

He was chairman of the committee which secured the necessary legislation and superintended the construction of the water system in 1874, chairman of the committee in charge of the rebuilding of the historic Old North bridge and the erection of the statue of the minuteman, which was unveiled on the centennial of the Concord fight, April 19, 1875, marking a notable spot in history.

At the 75th anniversary of the Concord fight, April 19, 1850, Judge Keyes was chairman of the committee of arrangements.

Entertained Kossuth.

On May 11 of the same year, when Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, was on his visit to New England, he was entertained at Concord. Kossuth and his companions dined with Judge Keyes at his home. A public meeting in the town hall followed. Judge Keyes presided and an address was made by Ralph Waldo Emerson, to which Kossuth responded.

On the 250th anniversary of the incorporation of the town, Sept 12, 1885, Judge Keyes was the presiding officer.

In his last report to the town in 1901 he as senior member of the trustees of town donations asked to be permitted a few personal words. Declining a reelection, he said that as trustee of town donations since 1868 he had seen the funds in care of the trustees increase from $800 to $100,783.49. To the donations for the silent poor, the schools and the library, all there were in 1868, had been added the high school, the shade trees, the town's birthday, the 19th of April, the burial lots, the cemetery care, the manual training school, the water works, the sewer and electric light sinking fund and the 81 separate donations for the care of lots in the cemetery.

At the next annual town meeting the following vote was unanimously passed:

"Whereas, our esteemed townsman, Hon John L. Keyes, has declined reelection as an officer of the town, and has thereby brought to a close more than half a century of public service in the many lines of duty to which he has been called by his fellow townsmen, therefore be it

"Resolved, that we hereby make and place on record this expression of our appreciation of the valuable services which he has rendered the town as one of its most public-spirited citizens."

Beside the great interest he took in town affairs he was very active in state politics during the period of whig domination in the time of Webster and Lawrence, and was then one of the most influential men of that party.

In 1853 he was appointed sheriff of Middlesex county, and in 1856, when the office was changed from an appointive to an elective office, there were three candidates and Mr Keyes was elected by a large majority, being the first sheriff elected in the county.

In May, 1860, he was a delegate to the republican national convention in Chicago when Lincoln was nominated for the presidency. Mr Keyes went as a Seward delegate and remained for him to the end. He was secretary of the Massachusetts delegation and always kept the original roll and records in his possession. For many years he had been the only surviving member of the Massachusetts delegation.

Guarded Lincoln.

In 1861 he was appointed U S marshal, which position he held during Lincoln's administration and a part of Johnson's, resigning in 1867.

Before being appointed marshal he had charge of Lincoln at the first inauguration, riding beside the carriage the entire length of Pennsylvania av. At the second inauguration of Lincoln he frustrated an attempt of John Wilkes Booth to get into the senate chamber through a private passageway.

In 1849 he was a member of the state senate and for many years he had been the senior surviving member of that body. The senate of 1849 was remarkable, in that it was composed entirely of members of one political party, all of the 40 senators being whigs. Mr Keyes was only 27 years old when he took his seat, being the youngest man up to that time to be elected to the upper branch of the legislature. The senators then were elected by counties, Middlesex having six.

In 1874 he was appointed judge of the district court of central Middlesex at Concord, which position he had held continuously until a few months ago.

He had been a director of the Middlesex mutual fire insurance company of Concord since Jan 1, 1875, and vice president since Jan 31, 1896. In the Middlesex institution for savings, located in Concord, he had been a trustee since June 12, 1849.

When the Concord antiquarian society was organized in 1885 Judge Keyes was one of the charter members. He was the president of the society from 1893 to 1908. Declining reelection, he was made

JUDGE JOHN S. KEITH.
Justice of Central Middlesex District Court at Concord.

RUFUS BIGELOW LAWRENCE

"...son of Hon. Luther (H.C. 1801) and Lucy (Bigelow) Lawrence, was born in Groton, July, 1814. He attended school first at Groton and then at Stow, Mass.

"He first entered college with the class of 1833, and his name appears on the first two catalogues of that class. He then left college, and rejoined it in the class of 1834 at the commencement of the Junior year.

"He had a handsome person, sweet disposition and pleasant and graceful manners. These qualities gained him many friends and made him a general favorite.

"After graduation he studied law in his father's office at Lowell, and began business there. In 1839 he opened an office in Boston. Life seemed to open before him in its most brilliant and attractive colors. But, unfortunately, one important element was wanting, without which all other advantages are almost useless; his health soon failed him, and symptoms of consumption manifested themselves. He spent two or three years in travel, in the hope of overcoming these alarming indications of early death; but in vain. He died at Pau, in 1841, being the fourth of the class to put off this life and enter another." ---Thomas Cushing, Memorials of the Class of 1834 of Harvard College, Boston, 1884, page 5.

GEORGE MOORE

[See the "Class Book of 1834" and Kenneth W. Cameron, The Transcendentalists and Minerva, (3 vols.), Hartford, 1958, II, pp. 457ff.]

ALBERT HOBART NELSON

"...was born March 12, 1812, in Carlisle, Mass., where his father, Dr. John Nelson, was for some years in the practice of the medical profession. The son grew up in that quiet town till he was old enough to leave home, when he was sent to the Concord Academy. Here he soon acquired a marked prominence among his fellow-students for his manly qualities, and was fitted for college, and entered Harvard in 1828. In college, as at school, he was distinguished more for worthy thoughts and acts than for scholarship, though he maintained a fair rank in his class."---John Shepard Keyes, "Memoir of Albert Hobart Nelson," Memoirs of... the Social Circle, II, 382.

"Death of Judge Nelson.——We regret to announce the death of the Hon. Albert Hobart Nelson, which took place at the Maclean Asylum in Somerville on Sunday, the 27th instant. He was son of Dr. John Nelson, and was born in Milford, Mass., the 12th of March, 1812. He graduated at Harvard College in 1832, in the same class with Rev. Dr. Bellows and Rev. Dr. Osgood, of New York, Rev. Charles T. Brooks, of Newport, R. I., and George Ticknor Curtis, Esq., of this city. He studied law with Hon. Samuel Hoar, of Concord, and began the practice of his profession in that town, but subsequently moved to Woburn, which has since been his home...." --Boston Daily Advertiser, Tuesday, June 29, 1858.

[For interesting details about his relationship with Thoreau, see Kenneth W. Cameron, "Thoreau's Three Months Out of Harvard and his First Publication," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 5 (IV Quarter 1956), pp. 2-12.]

WILLIAM MACKAY PRICHARD

"...after graduating, chose the profession of the law. He studied in New York City with Mr. William Emerson (H.C. 1818). On being admitted to the bar, he formed a partnership with that gentleman. This continued until Judge Emerson gave up practice and retired to spend his last years with his younger brother, Ralph Waldo, at Concord, Mass. Mr. Prichard next formed a connection with William G. Choate (H.C. 1852). This lasted until Mr. Choate was appointed United States District Judge.

"The law firm as originally formed, of Emerson and Prichard, and continued to the present time with younger men, of which Mr. Prichard has long been senior partner, has always maintained an eminently respectable and thoroughly reliable position at the New York Bar.

"Mr. Prichard married, in April, 1852, Miss Eliza Plummer, of New York City." ---Waldo Higginson, Memorials of the Class of 1833 of Harvard College, Cambridge, 1883, p. 133.

The Republican.

Springfield, Mass.
Thursday, October 26, 1897.

William M. Prichard, a well-known New York lawyer, was buried yesterday in Concord, his native town. He was a son of an old Concord family, who have dwelt for years on the Main street of the village, and owned broad meadows along the gently flowing river, which takes its name from the town. He was a graduate of Harvard and settled in New York early in life, where he has had a successful professional career, giving special attention to trust business. He had long been a prominent and faithful member of All Souls Unitarian church. His interest in Concord never diminished, and he spent part of every year there until recently declining health forbade the journey. He gave generously to the public library and other institutions of the town, and will be long and affectionately remembered for his many acts of charity, his bright and cheering speech, his kindly and gracious bearing at

BOSTON HERALD.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1897.

Boston Transcript

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1897.

Mr. William M. Prichard, a well-known New York lawyer, died last Sunday. He was born Oct. 23, 1814, at Concord, Mass., and graduated at Harvard in 1833.

LAWYER W. M. PRITCHARD BURIED.

[Special Dispatch to the Boston Herald.]

CONCORD, Oct. 26, 1897. The funeral of William M. Prichard, for many years a leading lawyer in New York city, was held at his late home on Main street this afternoon. The service was conducted by the Rev. Theodore Bailey Willis, pastor of the All Souls Unitarian Church, New York, assisted by the Rev. Lorin F. Macdonald, pastor of the First Parish Church. The burial was in Sleepy Hollow cemetery.

William M. Prichard, a well-known and honored New York lawyer, was buried yesterday in Concord, his native town. He was a son of an old Concord family, who have dwelt for years on the main street of the village, and owned broad meadows along the gently flowing river, which takes its name from the town. He was a graduate of Harvard and settled in New York early in life, where he has had a successful professional career, giving special attention to trust business. He had long been a prominent and faithful member of All Souls Unitarian church. His interest in Concord never diminished, and he spent part of every year there until recently declining health forbade the journey. He gave generously to the public library and other institutions of the town, and will be long and affectionately remembered for his many acts of charity, his bright and cheering speech, his kindly and gracious bearing and his honorable conduct in all the relations of life. He was over 80 years old, and his wife died some time ago. They had no children.

Springfield Republican,
October 21, 1897.

William M. Prichard died at his home, No. 150 West Fifty-ninth-st., yesterday afternoon. He was in his eighty-third year, and had been ailing for some time, though he was not taken seriously ill until last Thursday. Mr. Prichard was a lawyer, and, though he had not been actively engaged in business of late years, retained an office at No. 7 Nassau-st. He was a widower. For the last two years he had been living at No. 150, West Fifty-ninth-st. with his three sisters, one of whom, Mrs. Hoar, was with him at the time of his death. Mr. Prichard's death was due to congestion of the liver. He was a member of the Bar and Harvard clubs and of the American Geographical and New-England societies.

New York Tribune,
Oct. 18, 1897.

Boston Journal.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1897.

WILLIAM M. PRICHARD.

William M. Prichard, a well-known New York lawyer, died last Sunday. He was born Oct. 28, 1814, at Concord, Mass., and graduated from Harvard in 1833. Among the distinguished men who were in his class (a class noted for its number of educators) were Francis Bower, George Edward Ellis, Robert Traill Spence Lowell, Edward Josiah Sterns, Henry Warren Torrey, and Jeffries and Morrill Wyman. Mr. Prichard was a widower.

NEW-YORK DAILY TRIBUNE
MONDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1897

W. M. PRICHARD.

William M. Prichard died at his home, No. 150 West Fifty-ninth-st., yesterday afternoon. He was in his eighty-third year, and had been ailing for some time, though he was not taken seriously ill until last Thursday. Mr. Prichard was a lawyer, and, though he had not been actively engaged in business of late years, retained an office at No. 7 Nassau-st. He was a widower. For the last two years he had been living at No. 150 West Fifty-ninth-st. with his three sisters, one of whom, Mrs. Hoar, was with him at the time of his death. Mr. Prichard's death was due to congestion of the liver. He was a member of the Bar and Harvard clubs and of the American Geographical and New-England societies.

THE SUN, OCTOBER 18, 1897

OBITUARY.

William M. Prichard, a retired lawyer, died yesterday afternoon at his apartments, 150 West Fifty-ninth street. He was 83 years old, and for the last two years had been an invalid. He was formerly associated in his profession with a brother of Ralph Waldo Emerson, and was a prominent practitioner. He was a member of the Bar Association and of the Harvard Club.

Edward Josiah Stearns, D.D. (*Non-graduate.*)

Son of Elijah Stearns and Elizabeth Stearns (the mother being a daughter of Rev. Josiah Stearns, of Epping, N. H., and sister of Rev. Samuel Stearns, of Bedford); born in Bedford, Mass., February 24, 1810; prepared for college at Concord Academy and Warren Academy, Woburn; spent part of his freshman year at Amherst College, and graduated at Harvard College, 1833; taught at Norfolk and Alexandria, Va., 1833–34, and in Dorchester, 1834–35; studied theology in the Seminary, 1835–36, and afterward in private. He was preceptor of Fuller Academy, West Newton, 1839. He was ordained a deacon of the Episcopal church at Newton Lower Falls, June 14, 1840, and was in charge of St. James' Church, Amesbury, Mass., that year. He was professor in Jubilee College, Ill., 1841–42, and teacher of a young ladies' school in Richmond, Va., 1842–43. He was ordained priest in Baltimore, Md., December 24, 1843, and spent most of his life in that State. He was rector of Grace Church, Elk Ridge Landing, 1843–45; professor of Modern Languages, College of St. James, near Hagerstown, 1845–46; instructor in Public High School, now City College, Baltimore, 1846–47; rector of St. Peter's, Ellicott City, 1847–48; professor of Modern Languages, St. John's College, Annapolis, 1849–53; instructor in St. Timothy's Hall, Catonsville, 1854–55, and again, 1859–60, and 1864–65; sub-master, Boston Latin School, 1856–57; instructor in Mystic Hall Seminary for young ladies, Medford, Mass., 1858; in his native home at Bedford, 1860, but returned to the South soon after the breaking out of the Civil War; rector of St. Paul's Church, Centreville, Md., 1862–63; in charge of St. John's Church, Howard County, 1865–66; rector of Dorchester parish, and principal of classical school, Cambridge, 1866–68; chaplain of Maryland Hospital for Insane, Baltimore, 1869–70; rector of St. Mary's Whitechapel parish, Denton, 1871–78; afterwards resided without charge in Easton.

Among his published works were: *Notes on Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 1853; *Afterpiece to the Comedy of Convocation*, 1870; *Birth and New Birth, a New Treatment of an Old Subject*, 1873; *The Faith of our Forefathers, an Examination of Cardinal Gibbons's Faith of our Fathers*, 1879. He was for a short time associate editor of Bledsoe's *Southern Review*. Hobart College gave him the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1874.

Dr. Stearns died of old age, at Easton, Md., July 6, 1890, aged eighty years. He was never married.

Necrology, Andover Theological Seminary
Second Printed Series, page 17.

Faulkland, Del., September 7, 1882.

My Dear Higginson,--

I send you herewith, as I promised you two or three months ago, "the most important facts of my life."

Born in Bedford, Middlesex County, Mass., Feb. 24, 1810; brought up a Puritan of "the straitest sect"; prepared for College, first at the Academy at Concord, where I boarded in the family of John Thoreau, father of Henry David (or, as he was then called, David Henry) Thoreau,--afterwards at the Warren Academy, Woburn; entered the freshman class at Amherst at the beginning of the third term, May, 1830; entered sophomore at Harvard in September of the same year; after graduating, went to Norfolk, Va.; taught in a private family there, from September to February, and (as you may remember) in a classical school in Alexandria, D. C., from March to August; had charge, the next year, of a classical school at the "Five Corners," Dorchester, Mass.; entered the Theological Seminary at Andover, October, 1835; left there the following January, and studied in private; "licensed to preach" by the Woburn Association, April, 1836; in 1839, "Preceptor" of the Fuller Academy, West Newton; became a Churchman that year; ordained Deacon by Bishop Griswold, on Trinity Sunday, 1840, in St. Mary's Church, Newton Lower Falls, and took charge of St. James's Church, Amesbury; 1841, Professor in Jubilee College, Peoria County, Illinois; 1842, instructor in a young ladies' school, Richmond, Va.; 1843, ordained Priest by Bishop Whittingham, the fourth Sunday in Advent, in St. Peter's Church, Baltimore, and became Rector of Grace Church, Elk Ridge Landing, Md.; 1845, Professor in the College of St. James, near Hagerstown; 1846, Professor in the Baltimore "Central Male High School" (now City College); 1847, Rector of St. Peter's Church, Ellicott City; 1849, Professor in St. John's College, Annapolis; 1853, instructor in a classical school in Philadelphia; 1854, Professor in St. Timothy's Hall, Catonsville, near Baltimore; 1856, Submaster of the Public Latin School, Boston; 1857, in ill health and laid on the shelf; 1858, instructor in Mystic Hall Seminary for Young Ladies, West Medford; 1859, again at St. Timothy's, Catonsville; July, 1860, to May, 1861, at my mother's in Bedford, she being paralytic and bed-ridden, and my brother, Elijah W. (class of 1838), having had a leg amputated, and lying hovering between life and death, all that autumn and winter; April 22, hanged and burned in effigy in my native place by certain "lewd fellows of the baser sort," and some more respectable ones gone crazy by the war; it did them good, and didn't hurt me; May 1, went from Bedford to Newark, N. J., and took charge of The House of Prayer, in the absence of the Rector in Europe (in the Vestry were United States Senator Wright and Ex-Governor Price); September 26 (being the Fast Day appointed by President Lincoln) preached a sermon entitled "The Sword of the Lord," from Jer. xlvii. 6; September 30, left Newark for Baltimore; at the request of friends there and in Newark, published the sermon, through Waters, Baltimore; it went rapidly to the third edition, more than twelve hundred copies being sold in a few weeks; 1862, Rector of St. Paul's Parish, Centreville, Md.; February 2, fourth Sunday after Epiphany, preached a sermon entitled "The Powers that Be," from the epistle for the day, Rom. xiii. 1; this was also published by Waters; 1864, again at St. Timothy's, Catonsville; 1866, instructor in a classical school at Cambridge, Md.; 1868, Chaplain of the Maryland Hospital for the Insane; 1869, Associate Editor of Bledsoe's Southern Review; 1870, in charge of Trinity Parish, Elkton, Md., in the absence of the Rector; 1871 to 1878, Rector of St. Mary's Whitechapel Parish, Denton, Md.

Since 1878 I have been pretty much laid on the shelf, except with my pen. Among its productions, besides those already mentioned, are these: —

Notes on Uncle Tom's Cabin. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1853. 12mo, pp. 210.

Afterpiece to the Comedy of Convocation. Hartford: Church Press Company, 1870. 16mo, pp. 168.

Birth and New Birth: A New Treatment of an Old Subject. Second Edition. Baltimore: George Lycett, 1873. 16mo, pp. 122.

The Faith of Our Forefathers, being an Examination of Archbishop Gibbons's "Faith of Our Fathers." New York: T. Whittaker, 1879. Fifth Edition, 1881. 12mo, pp. 380.

The Archbishop's Champion brought to Book. New York: T. Whittaker, 1881. 16mo, pp. 122.

You will see from the foregoing that I have been a rolling stone, gathering no moss. Cause,--inability to

> "Lick absurd pomp,
> And crook the pregnant hinges of the knee,
> Where thrift may follow fawning."

You will see, further, from the date of this, that I have changed my residence. Faulkland is seven miles and a half from Wilmington by the Delaware Western Railroad. If you ever come to Wilmington, don't fail to come out here and pay me a visit. You will find a hearty welcome.

If I am alive and well, I shall endeavor to be with you next Commencement. But there's a good deal in that "if," for I have not the strength that I had a year ago. That I have lasted as long as I have, is in the teeth of the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest;" but I don't believe in that doctrine, at least where mind and heart enter into the problem.

I remain, your old classmate and friend,

Edward J. Stearns.

[From Waldo Higginson, Memorials of the Class of 1833 of Harvard College, Cambridge, 1883, pp. 133-136.]

NATHAN BROOKS STOW

[See Charles E. Brown, "Nathan Brooks Stow," Memoirs of...the Social Circle, IV, 201ff. Stow was educated in Concord public schools and at the Academy.]

HENRY VOSE

"...the son of Elijah, and Rebecca Gorham (Bartlett) Vose, was born in Charlestown, Mass., May 21, 1817. At a very early age he was afflicted with asthma, and was sent for the benefit of his health to Concord, Mass., where he lived for many years in a farmer's family. He went to the Concord Academy and began the study of the classics; it was not, however, till his twelfth year, when he returned home, that he commenced in earnest his preparation for college. In 1832 he was examined and admitted at Cambridge, but on account of illness was unable to go on with his studies till the following year, when he entered the Freshman class [with Thoreau].

"Mr. Vose lived in the family of Prof. Henry Ware, Jr., and his intercourse with his classmates was comparatively limited, as was often the case with those who roomed out of the college grounds. He ranked among the studious and earnest members of the class, and notwithstanding the malady...was equal to all the college requirements and maintained a good standing among his fellows...." --Henry Williams, Memorials of the Class of 1837, pp. 48-49. See Gruber, op. cit., 65-66.

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

"I spent nearly a year at a maternal Uncle's house, with whom I studied Latin and Greek, to whom my obligations are very great, and left his care in August, 1830. After attending the District School in Lincoln three consecutive Winters, and the Academy at Concord, kept by Mr. Phineas Allen, a quarter each of the following seasons, I made my appearance at Cambridge July 16th, 1833. I look back upon my college course with but scanty approval...." --in the "Class Book of 1837," folios 131-132.

"Charles Stearns Wheeler, son of Charles, and Julia (Stearns) Wheeler, was born in Lincoln, Mass., Dec. 19, 1816. His ancestors, both on the father's and the mother's side, were of English descent; they settled in Lincoln as far back as 1650 and were farmers. His father was a farmer, and he says of himself that he followed the same calling six months in the year, to which he attributes that vigorous health which he enjoyed 'through years of carelessness with regard to its maintenance.' One of his brothers writes of him: 'He was a quiet, teachable, and studious boy, a very diligent and patient student, and a great reader, I might say devourer of books. He seldom if ever mingled in the noisier diversions of boys. I don't think he ever went skating or hunting in his life. I don't think he ever even fired off a gun.' Enjoying such 'advantages as were common to every child of his native village,' he received his early training in the district schools: but he says in his record in the Class Book, 'Whenever I came through Cambridge on my way to market, I used to make a point of taking a good long look at the College buildings. And if I had any enthusiasm for anything, it was to listen to stories about their inmates. To be one of so happy a crew was a lot too blessed for me. As I could not give up wishing it was mine, I was allowed to prepare for college.' He received instruction in Latin and Greek from his maternal uncle the Rev. William L. Stearns of Stoughton, whom he gratefully mentions, and afterwards studied at intervals, under different clergymen and at the Concord academy, entering Harvard in 1833. Those who started with him in his college career will doubtless recall Mr. Wheeler's appearance at this period. He was quite simple and unsophisticated in his manners, full of eager curiosity and an abounding health and cheerfulness, which lent a constant smile to his ruddy face. Rigidly exact in his compliance with college rules and duties, he never seemed to have an idle moment; so he easily met all the requirements of his instructors and held his own as a scholar with those whose previous opportunities of preparation had been less interrupted and desultory. He sustained a high rank all through his college course and took the second honors of his class at graduation. Without any very brilliant natural endowments, Mr. Wheeler was a signal example of what can be accomplished by sturdy, cheerful diligence, and an untiring devotion to duty. He was a man of fixed principles and great purity of character, whose steady aim seemed always to be, self-improvement and the acquisition of knowledge. After graduating he taught for a while a boys' school, till he was appointed to the office of Greek tutor in Harvard University. He also gave instruction in the department of History. Besides filling these positions acceptably, he found time to prepare an edition of Herodotus, which was received with favor and adopted as a text-book by the college. Soon after this he was able to carry out one of his most cherished plans, that of going abroad to pursue his studies for a couple of years in Germany, with the purpose ultimately of entering the ministry on his return. But his career was suddenly cut short by sickness, and he died of fever at Leipsic, June 13, 1843.

> Near Leipsic's book-fair well book'd WHEELER lies;
> Native to him the scholar's high emprize.
> His earliest books he plough'd from Lincoln's soil,
> Found sermons in its stones; there farmer's toil
> Toughened his sinews into mind, and made
> His purpose steadfast.
>
> Mr. Weiss's poem.

--Henry Williams, Memorials of the Class of 1837, pp. 23-24. See also John Olin Eidson, Charles Stearns Wheeler: Friend of Emerson, Athens, Ga., [1951]. Also Gruber, op. cit., pp. 75-80, 118.

WILLIAM WHITING, JR.

"William Whiting was the son of William and Hannah (Conant) Whiting, and descended from Rev. Samuel Whiting, minister of the church in Lynn, whose wife was the daughter of Rt. Hon. Oliver St. John, Chief Justice of England in Cromwell's time.

"Born in Concord, March 3, 1813, he pursued his preparatory studies in the academy of that town, and graduated at Harvard College in 1833. He was third scholar, Professors Bowen and Torry being before, and Professor Lovering just after him.

"After graduating, he took charge of a school for young ladies in Plymouth. Remaining there about a year, he returned to Concord, where he taught a simi-

lar school. In the autumn of 1835 he entered the office of Ellis Gray Loring, counsellor at law, Boston, where he remained a year and a

half. Then, after travelling for a few months in the West, he entered the Law School at Cambridge, where he took his degree as LL. B. in 1838. Admitted to the Boston Bar in November of the same year, he opened an office in Court Street in that city.

In the Court of Common Pleas his talents and industry at once commanded attention and respect, and enabled him to achieve early and enduring success, his pre-eminence being illustrated by the term "Whiting's court" often then applied to that tribunal.

He was soon prompted, however, to seek a wider field of activity in the higher courts of this and other States, and of the United States. In these, he attained his chief eminence from his success in important suits arising under the patent laws. To these cases he devoted years of careful research, and in them he developed great mechanical aptness. The minutiæ of questions to which they gave rise were scrupulously examined, and no pains spared to insure a thorough command of the case in hand. In this manner he acquired the confidence of his clients, and won for himself a distinction seldom equalled in this department of his profession, together with a fortune.

Although Mr. Whiting was much absorbed in his profession, yet, when the great crisis of the nation approached, he was especially interested in the legal and constitutional questions which were forced into prominence. He was one of the first among lawyers to claim for the United States full belligerent rights against those who inhabited the States in rebellion. His views on this subject were subsequently incorporated in his work on War Powers under the Constitution of the United States, which, says his biographer,[1] "contributed more than any other single agency to the solution of many of the difficult questions arising in the course of the war."

"The early editions of the work," says the same memoir, "were adopted by the President and the Departments as an

[1] The late Mr. Delano A. Goddard.

authority on the questions treated in it, and new editions followed as rapidly as new questions called for examination and decision. The value placed upon it is best attested by the remarkable fact, that within a period of eight years forty-three[1] editions were printed."

In November, 1862, Mr. Whiting was requested by the President to act as solicitor and special counsellor of the War Department, and this office, created by statute in 1863, he filled until the end of the war.

Mr. Whiting's first public service after the war was that of Presidential Elector in 1868, when he gave the vote of his district for General Grant. In 1872, he was elected to the Forty-third Congress. He was so equipped for this post, that he must have taken a high place in its councils. He had at command much learning. He spoke easily and with force. He had been very successful in the courts. He was used to affairs, and accustomed to influence men in high stations. Above all, his capacity for patient and effective work was immense.

But death, who seeks alike the distinguished and the humble, suddenly struck him down, in the midst of his usual health and of the high anticipations of his position.

He died at his house on Montrose Avenue, Roxbury, on the 29th of June, 1873, aged sixty years. He had been confined within doors but a few days, and his illness excited no apprehensions. Late in the afternoon of that day, whilst resting quietly on his pillow, he was seized with sharp pains about the heart, and expired in a few moments.

He was married in October, 1840, to Lydia Cushing Russell, daughter of the Hon. Thomas Russell of Plymouth, who with three children — two sons and one daughter — survived him.

Mrs. Whiting died May 7, 1881. Miss Whiting resides in

[1] To which may be added that at least one edition was prepared for foreign distribution.

Boston. The eldest son lives at Barre, Mass. The youngest, Harold, graduated at Harvard in 1877, the fourth in his class, took the following year the degree of A.M., and is now an assistant teacher at the University in the department of Physics.

"Mr. Whiting by his will left five thousand dollars to Harvard College for a scholarship.

"At the end of the biography referred to above, which was prepared for the Historic Genealogical Society, there is appended a list of Mr. Whiting's separate publications, thirty-two in number, mostly legal and political, partly historical." --Waldo Higginson, Memorials of the Class of 1833 of Harvard College, pp. 57-60.

[The following account of the founding of the Concord Academy by William Whiting's father, Colonel Whiting, is found in Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar's "Memoir of William Whiting [Sr.] in Memoirs of...the Social Circle, II, 258-259:]

"In 1821, a man named Forbes taught the grammar school in the centre of the town. William [Whiting, Jr.] had never attended any but a woman's school. He commenced going to Mr. Forbes. Before he had attended the school a week, his body was quite speckled with black and blue spots caused by blows from his schoolmates. Mr. Forbes advised me [Colonel Whiting] to take him away, saying he would as soon put a child of his on board a man of war as send him to that school. In 1822 I began to feel deeply the need of some better means of educating our children. It had long been a favorite project of my wife and myself to give our children as good an education as could be obtained within a reasonable distance, let the expense be what it might. We both lived as prudently as we could. We even went so far, for years, as to decline going into company, because it would subject us to the expense of having company in our turn. I happened one day to be in Mr. Josiah Davis's store, which was then opposite to my manufactory. I entered into conversation with Mr. Davis upon the immediate necessity of having some better means of educating our children. I told him I was willing to pay a portion towards erecting an academy somewhere in our neighborhood, if I could get somebody to join me. He said he was both ready and willing to be one of a small company to do the same, and, while we were talking, Hon. Samuel Hoar came in, and seemed much pleased with the idea, and readily joined us. Dr. Abiel Heywood and Hon. N. Brooks also agreed to take part in the undertaking, and the expenses of the land and building were paid by the following persons, and

in the ratio, viz.: Hon. Samuel Hoar, Mr. Josiah Davis, Hon. Abiel Heywood, each one fourth; Hon. Nathan Brooks and William Whiting, each one eighth. Mr. Davis was authorized to erect the building; the land was bought of Colonel Daniel Shattuck. I think the land and building, and all the apparatus for commencing the school, cost about twenty-four hundred dollars." [For more about William Whiting, Jr., see under "George Merrick Brooks," supra.]

BOSTON DAILY ADVERTISER.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 3, 1873.

FUNERAL SERVICES.

FUNERAL OF THE HON. WILLIAM WHITING.

The funeral of the late Hon. William Whiting took place at his late residence in Montrose avenue, yesterday. Besides the members and relatives of his family there were present a large number of the friends of Mr. Whiting, distinguished in professional and public life. The remains were enclosed in a plain rosewood casket, bearing as an inscription only his name and the date of his birth and death. The services were conducted by the Rev. George W. Briggs, D. D., of Cambridge, and consisted of selections from the lxiii. Psalm, a short address, and a prayer. In the course of his very impressive address, Dr. Briggs said the occasion which had brought them together spoke more eloquently than any words he could utter. The tongue which was ever prompt to welcome all who crossed that household was still, and the hand ever extended to greet his friends was motionless forever. A most busy, earnest and indefatigable life had been suddenly closed. In one sense his was a finished life, if such a life was to strive to do thoroughly whatever was committed to his hands to do. Those who have watched him in his ascent to the highest point in his profession, sparing himself no fatigue that his work might be done well, wished that the new career upon which he was about to enter might have been reserved for him, in order that he might have shown what an incorruptible legislator was. There were many sad hearts, made so by this sudden bereavement, besides those who stood nearest to the deceased in the sacred privacy of home. Those who have had any relations with him have rejoiced in his unmeasured charity in his wise counsels and true friendship, had sad hearts today. His was a life of inspiration to any honorable young man who devotes his energies to whatever Providence calls him to perform. His services to individuals and to the country, services not readily appreciated, the noble part he bore in attempting to bring the nation out of her great trial, were duly mentioned. He had a true and honorable ambition to do the noblest service in the noblest way. And now the tired body was at rest: the frame, which was always too feeble for the intensity of his intellect, had broken at last, and those who mourned his loss felt almost willing that he should take that rest he could not find here.

The services closed with a benediction, and the large gathering dispersed. In the afternoon the body was removed to Concord where the last rites of burial were performed.

The Republican.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 4, 1873.

William Whiting—The Governorship—Boston Gossip.

From Our Special Correspondent.

BOSTON, Thursday, July 3.

The death of William Whiting was a shock to almost all who knew him; indeed, few had heard of his illness until his death was announced. Its cause was a disease of the heart, and a post-mortem examination showed partial ossification of that organ. His father, Col Whiting of Concord died of heart disease eleven years ago, but after a long illness, while few knew that Mr Whiting was suffering from this malady. His life was a very industrious one, and he stood at the head of his profession as a patent lawyer, having perhaps the longest practice in patent cases of any man. His skill in this specialty was the foundation of his fortune, which has been gradually accumulating for twenty five years, and will probably reach a million. The attention he gave to constitutional law was something much more recent, and those studies were the occupation of his years of comparative leisure, since his worldly prosperity has been secured. He entered the public service during the war at his own expense, as the late Major Stearns did, and like him was under the orders of Secretary Stanton, but in a very different capacity. Mr Whiting's business was to find law for the administration, and Major Stearns's to find colored soldiers,—and for a while they did not agree very well. Nor was Gov Andrew satisfied with Mr Whiting's course in regard to the colored troops,—but I have suspected that Andrew was not quite just to Whiting, who was not much beloved by the Suffolk bar. Unquestionably Mr Whiting did much service for awhile by his bold and ingenious theory of the war-power of the constitution, though he and others have lately pushed it a great deal too far. The sword was our best law-book in 1863-4, but other works have since superseded it in the opinion of all sensible men. There is a time for all things, and Mr Whiting's time was at the emancipation crisis of 1863; generally speaking, his political wisdom was not of a high order, nor did he, like his father, cheerfully stand in a political minority.

Mr Whiting's antiquarian studies and some touch of family pride, which he rather displayed than concealed, have been laughed at quite as much as was necessary. Few persons really disregard birth or fail to take an interest in their ancestry, especially if they believe it an honorable one,—and I have always thought that pride of descent (unconnected with rank) is as strong in New England as in the mother-country or even in Austria. Whether it be a virtue or a vice, Mr Whiting certainly had it, and, so far as one line of his genealogy went, he was entitled to it. His pedigree was not fabricated, as that of many Americans has been, but he did really descend, through Elizabeth St John, the wife of Rev Samuel Whiting of Lynn, from the great English family that produced Lord Bolingbroke and his great-grandfather, Cromwell's Chief-Justice St John. Mrs Whiting was the aunt of Oliver St John, and Bolingbroke was her great-grandnephew; her own ancestors were barons and earls and kings and queens, among them William the Conqueror. None of the Virginia first families, Lees, Fairfaxes, Randolphs, or what not, could boast a nobler descent, and, making all allowance for human frailty, there was no harm in it. Mr Whiting was not so brilliant as his cousin Bolingbroke, nor had he so much weight of character or stoutness of heart as Cromwell's chief-justice, but I think he was a better man, and did his country and his friends more good than either. He did not despise wealth, nor the advantages of it; but though he had known poverty and narrow ways of life, he valued money much less than some other things. He was ambitious of power and station, but not the slave of his ambition, as many of our politicians are: indeed, he was not a politician, properly speaking, at all, and never appeared to less advantage than when he put on the harness of a partisan. He was fortunate in his domestic relations, and never disregarded family ties and duties. His friendships were not so numerous as those of most men equally gifted, and though he wished to conciliate regard and affection, he did not possess the surest key to that happiness. He was buried yesterday in Concord, where he was born, and where one of his ancestors was parish minister a century and a half ago,—and he will be remembered among the eminent men who have made the town famous. He was a fluent writer and speaker, and a man of sound learning, though not specially of a literary turn. His youngest son had just entered at Harvard, 44 years after his father, who graduated young in 1833. At the funeral services in Concord the pall-bearers were Judge Hoar, Judge Brooks, William Munroe, Frederic Hudson, Samjson Mason and Dr Henry A. Barrett, most of whom had been neighbors or schoolmates of Mr Whiting in Concord. His grave in the Sleepy Hollow cemetery is between those of the Emerson and Ripley families, and not far from those of Hawthorne, Thoreau and Samuel Hoar. The funeral procession included his father's contemporaries, Drs Bartlett and Jarvis, Mr Alcott, and many of the residents of Concord. The services at the grave were conducted by Rev N. S. Folsom of Concord in a simple and impressive manner. The funeral in his own house at Roxbury took place a few hours earlier.

WHITING, Hon. William.—Member of Congress for the Third Massachusetts District. A native of Concord, Mass. In 1833 he graduated at Harvard College, and in 1836 at the Cambridge Law School. From 1836 to 1857 he was Solicitor of the War Department, and in that position he rendered eminent services to the country. His work on war powers under the Constitution, which passed through four editions, will of itself suffice to keep his memory green in the circles of law and of statesmanship. Profoundly interested in historical and antiquarian studies, he devoted much time to them. He was a member and Also an officer of many societies. He died at his home in Roxbury, Mass., June 24, 1873, aged 64. Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography.

JAMES BARRETT WOOD

"...was born on the 23d of September, 1824. He was the son of James and Rizpah (Farmer) Wood, and was one of seven children. He was an amiable youngster, shy and sensitive to ridicule. When old enough he was sent to the near-by school,---District School number 6,---and later to the High School (kept in what is now the Masonic Building), to Mr. Goodnow's private school, and, for a few terms, to the Academy, conducted by John and Henry Thoreau...." See Henry Dingley Coolidge, "James Barrett Wood," in Memoirs of ...the Social Circle, IV, 258ff.

LIST OF AVAILABLE CONCORD MEMOIRS:

[1] The Centennial of the Social Circle in Concord, March 21, 1882. [FIRST SERIES]. Cambridge, [Mass.], 1882.

BARRETT, HUMPHREY, by Nathan Brooks, pp. 63-67.
BARTLETT, SAMUEL, by Josiah Bartlett, pp. 68-73.
BROWN, DAVID, by John Shepard Keyes, pp. 74-78.
BROWN, EZEKIEL, by Grindall Reynolds, pp. 79-95.
BROWN, REUBEN, by William Whiting, pp. 96-98. [106.
COGSWELL, EMERSON, by William S. Robinson, pp. 99-
FAY, JONATHAN, by Jonathan Fay Barrett, pp. 107-111.
HEYWOOD, JONAS, by Lorenzo Eaton, pp. 112-113.
HOSMER, JOSEPH, by Josephine Hosmer, pp. 114-119.
HUBBARD, THOMAS, by Samuel Hoar, pp. 120-123.
HUNT, JOSEPH, by William Whiting, pp. 124-126.
INGRAHAM, DUNCAN, by Josiah Bartlett, pp. 127-130.
JONES, ELNATHAN, by Josiah Bartlett and Elijah Wood.
JONES, EPHRAIM, by Josiah Bartlett and Elijah Wood.
JONES, SAMUEL, by Josiah Bartlett and Elijah Wood.
LEE, JONAS, by John Shepard Keyes, pp. 135-137.
WHEELER, PETER, by Cyrus Stow, pp. 138-142.
WHITE, JOHN, by Daniel Shattuck, pp. 143-151.
WOOD, EPHRAIM, by Elijah Wood, Jr., pp. 152-156.
VOSE, JOHN, by Cyrus Warren, pp. 157-158.
RICHARDSON, JOHN, by George Keyes, pp. 159-163.
HURD, ISAAC, by Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, pp. 164-167.
RIPLEY, EZRA, by Ralph Waldo Emerson, pp. 168-176.

[2] Memoirs of Members of the Social Circle in Concord. Second Series, from 1795 to 1840. Privately Printed. Cambridge, [Mass.], 1888.

ADAMS, JOHN, by John Shepard Keyes, pp. 159-160.
BALL, NEHEMIAH, by John Shepard Keyes, pp. 234-240.
BARRETT, ABEL, by George Minott Barrett, pp. 20-21.
BARRETT, JOSEPH, by Jonathan Fay Barrett, pp. 85-97.
BARRETT, NATHAN, By John Shepard Keyes, pp. 126-131.
BARRETT, NATHAN, JR. By John S. Keyes, pp. 266-272.
BARTLETT, BENJAMIN DIXON, by Josiah Bartlett, 141-142.
BARTLETT, JOSIAH, by Grindall Reynolds, pp. 172-187.
BROOKS, NATHAN, by George Merrick Brooks, pp. 201-208
BROWN, JOSEPH LASINBY, by Grindall Reynolds, pp. 1-14.
BROWN, REUBEN, JR., by William Whiting, pp. 168-171.
BRYANT, REUBEN, by Grindall Reynolds, pp. 77-79.
BURR, SAMUEL, by John Shepard Keyes, pp. 209-213.
BUTTRICK, SAMUEL, by Nehemiah Ball, pp. 157-158.
CHENEY, JOHN MILTON, by Ralph Waldo Emerson, 310-316.
DAVIS, JONATHAN HUBBARD, by Daniel Shattuck, 102-109.
DAVIS, JOSIAH, by Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, pp. 98-101.
GOODWIN, HERSEY BRADFORD, by Barzillai Frost, 276-285.
HAMILTON, JAMES, by John Shepard Keyes, 143-144.
HAMMOND, CHARLES, by George A. Thatcher, pp. 75-76.
HEALD, THOMAS, by Grindall Reynolds, pp. 63-66
HEYWOOD, ABIEL, by Francis Richard Gourgas, 228-233.
HEYWOOD, JONAS, by Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, 132-133.
HEYWOOD, WILLIAM, by William Whiting, pp. 124-125.
HOSMER, CYRUS, by George W. Hosmer, pp. 214-223.
HOW, PHINEAS, by Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, 273-276.
HUBBARD, CYRUS, by Rebecca Wetherbee, pp. 192-193.
HUNT, REUBEN, by Simon Brown, pp. 15-19.
HURD, ISAAC, JR., by Grindall Reynolds, pp. 110-113.
JARVIS, EDWARD. [Extracts from his "Autobiography" edited by John Shepard Keyes, pp. 317-355.]
JARVIS, FRANCIS, by Edward Jarvis, pp. 30-51.
JARVIS, FRANCIS, JR., by Edward Waldo Emerson, 370ff.
JONES, WILLIAM, by Grindall Reynolds, pp. 55-57.
KEYES, JOHN, by John Shepard Keyes, pp. 161-167.
LORING, DAVID, by Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, 377-381.
MERRIAM, EPHRIAM, by Grindall Reynolds, 241-244.
MERRICK, TILLY, by George Merrick Brooks, 58-62.
MONROE, NATHANIEL, by William Monroe, Jr., 114-115.
MONROE, WILLIAM, by William Monroe, Jr., 145-156.
MOORE, ABEL, by John Milton Cheney, pp. 286-294.
NELSON, ALBERT HOBART, by John Shepard Keyes, 382ff.
PARKMAN, WILLIAM, by Grindall Reynolds, pp. 22-27.
PRATT, ALVAN, by Lorenzo Eaton, pp. 364-389.
PRESCOTT, JOHN LYNDE, by John Shepard Keyes, 80-81.
PRICHARD, MOSES, by Grindall Reynolds, pp. 116-123.
SHATTUCK, DANIEL, by John Shepard Keyes, 134-140.
SHATTUCK, LEMUEL, by George Keyes, pp. 224-227.
SHEPHERD, WILLIAM, by John Shepard Keyes, 356-363.
SMITH, DUDLEY, by Josiah Bartlett, 245-246.
STACY, JOHN, by Albert Tolman, pp. 188-191.
STOW, CYRUS, by Grindall Reynolds, pp. 295-301.
TEMPLE, JAMES, by Julius Michael Smith, pp. 52-54.
TUTTLE, JOHN LEIGHTON, by Samuel Hoar, pp. 71-74.
WARREN, CYRUS, by Grindall Reynolds, pp. 302-309.
WHEELER, EPHRIAM, by Francis Richard Gourgas, 67-69.
WHEELOCK, JONATHAN, by Moses Prichard, pp. 82-83.
WHITING, WILLIAM, by Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, 247-265
WOOD, ELIJAH, by Elijah Wood, Jr., pp. 194-200.
WOOD, NATHAN, by Elijah Wood, p. 84.
WOOD, STEPHEN, by Elijah Wood, pp. 28-29.
WYMAN, OLIVER CROMWELL, by Nehemiah Ball, p. 70.

[3] Memoirs of Members of the Social Circle in Concord. Third Series from 1840 to 1895. Privately Printed. Cambridge, [Mass.], 1907.

BARRETT, GEORGE MINOT, by Jonathan Fay Barrett, 94f.
BARRETT, JONATHAN FAY, by Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, pp. 125-136.
BARRETT, RICHARD, by John Shepard Keyes, 167-175.
BATES, ADOLPHUS, by Grindall Reynolds, pp. 106-110.
BROOKS, GEORGE MERRICK, by John Shepard Keyes, 219ff.
BROWN, SIMON, by George Keyes, pp. 76-82.
BUSH, JAMES SMITH, by William Barrett, pp. 176-185.
FAY, ADDISON GRANT, by Grindall Reynolds, pp. 83-93.
FROST, BARZILLAI, by Henry Frost, pp. 54-59.
GOURGAS, FRANCIS RICHARD, by Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, pp. 25-29.
GROUT, HENRY MARTYN, by Wm. Torrey Harris, 155-166.
HARLOW, ANDREW JACKSON, by Grindall Reynolds, 186-193
HOAR, SAMUEL, by Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, pp. 30-53.
HOW, GEORGE PHINEAS, by Grindall Reynolds, 137-142.
HUDSON, BARZILLAI NICKERSON, by Geo. Merrick Brooks, pp. 120-124.
KEYES, GEORGE, by Woodward Hudson, pp. 209-218.
MACKAY, TRISTRAM BARNARD, by Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, pp. 115-119.
MUNROE, FRANCIS, by William Munroe, pp. 71-75.
REYNOLDS, GRINDALL, by Prescott Keyes, pp. 240-260.
RICE, REUBEN NATHANIEL, by Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, pp. 143-154.
RIPLEY, SAMUEL, by James Bradley Thayer, pp. 1-24.

SKINNER, JOHN FREDERICK, by Reuben Nathaniel Rice and Grindall Reynolds, pp. 66-70.
WHEELER, SAMUEL GREENE, by John Shepard Keyes, 60-65.
WHEILDON, WILLIAM WILLDER, by Henry Francis Smith, pp. 194-208.
WOOD, ELIJAH, JR., by James Barrett Wood and Henry Martyn Grout, pp. 111-114.

[4] Memoirs of Members of the Social Circle in Concord: Fourth Series, from 1895 to 1909. Privately Printed. Cambridge, [Mass.], 1909.

BARRETT, EDWIN SHEPARD, by John Shepard Keyes, 165-170
BARRETT, WILLIAM, by Charles Edward Brown, pp. 171-174
BULL, EPHRAIM WALES, by William Barrett, pp. 146-158.
DAMON, EDWARD CARVER, by Henry Francis Smith, 175-200.
EATON, LORENZO, by Edward Jarvis Bartlett, 238-244.
EATON, WILLIAM LORENZO, by Loren Benjamin Macdonald, pp. 307-326.
HEYWOOD, GEORGE, by Edward Carver Damon, pp. 159-164.
HOAR, EBENEZER ROCKWOOD, by Edward Waldo Emerson, pp. 1-130.
HOAR, SAMUEL, by Woodward Hudson, pp. 265-293.
HORNBLOWER, EDWARD THOMAS, by William Henry Hunt, pp. 245-251.
HOSMER, HENRY JOSEPH, by Charles Edward Brown, 252-256
LANG, DAVID GOODWIN, by Edward Jarvis Bartlett, pp. 327-331.
MUNROE, ALFRED, by Henry Francis Smith, pp. 294-306.
STAPLES, SAMUEL, by John Shepard Keyes, pp. 131-145.
STOW, NATHAN BROOKS, by Charles Edward Brown, 201-204.
WALCOTT, CHARLES HOSMER, by Edward Waldo Emerson, pp. 205-237.
WALCOTT, HENRY JOEL, by Prescott Keyes, pp. 332-343.
WOOD, JAMES BARRETT, by Henry Dingley Coolidge, pp. 257-264.

[5] Memoirs of Members of the Social Circle in Concord: Fifth Series from 1909 to 1939. Privately Printed. Cambridge, [Mass.], 1940.

BARRETT, RICHARD FAY, by Wm. Henry Brown, 102-107.
BARTLETT, EDWARD JARVIS, by Edward Waldo Emerson, pp. 111-125.
BALLOU, MURRAY, by Berkeley Wheeler, pp. 190-195.
BROWN, CHARLES EDWARD, by Percy Whiting Brown, 321-330
BULKELEY, BENJAMIN REYNOLDS, by Henry Francis Smith, pp. 312-320.
BUTTRICK, STEDMAN, by Stedman Buttrick, pp. 208-221.
CHAMBERLIN, THEODORE, by Charles Hovey Pepper, 391-401
COOLIDGE, HENRY DINGLEY, by Loren Benjamin Macdonald, pp. 179-189.
EMERSON, EDWARD WALDO, by Allen French, pp. 293-311.
GILMORE, JOHN LEACH, by Wm. Bradford Bartlett, 245-250
HARRIS, WILLIAM TORREY, by Percy Whiting Brown, 47-58.
HOLLIS, THOMAS, by Wm. Bradford Bartlett, pp. 362-376.
HOUSTON, FRANCIS AUGUSTINE, by Woodward Hudson, 138-147.
HUDSON, WOODWARD, by Frederic Hathaway Chase, 377-390.
HUNT, WILLIAM HENRY, by Allen French, pp. 251-267.
HUTCHINSON, CHARLES WILLIAM, by Frederick Winsor, pp. 349-361.
KEYES, JOHN SHEPARD, by Amelia F. Emerson, pp. 71-93.
KING, GEORGE AUGUSTUS, by Frederic Hathaway Chase, pp. 148-158.
MACDONALD, LOREN BENJAMIN, by Allen French, 201-207.
METCALF, LEONARD, by George Marston Weed, pp. 229-244.
PARKER, EDWARD LUDLOW, by Allen French, pp. 222-228.
PRATT, FREDERICK ALCOTT, by Thomas Hollis, pp. 59-70.
ROBB, RUSSELL, by Stedman Buttrick, pp. 268-280.
SMITH, HENRY FRANCIS, by Henry Francis Smith, Jr., pp. 281-292.
SMITH, JULIUS MICHAEL, by Joseph Smith Richardson and Laurence E. Richardson, pp. 108-110.
TITCOMB, GEORGE EUGENE, by Raymond Emerson, 196-200.
TOLMAN, ADAMS, by Allen French, pp. 159-178.
WHEELER, HARVEY, by Loren Benjamin Macdonald, pp. 126-137.
WHEELER, WILLIAM, by Woodward Hudson, pp. 331-348.
WHITNEY, JAMES LYMAN, by Edward Jarvis Bartlett, pp. 94-101.

Concord Freeman, June 20, 1884, page 1.

CONCORD SOCIAL EVENT OF THE YEAR 1884

BOWLES—HOAR

Long before the hour announced for the ceremony last Thursday evening the steps and lawn of the Unitarian Church contained a large concourse of people, all anxious to obtain access to the gallery of the church, which was to open to the general public; the occasion being the marriage of Miss Elizabeth Hoar of Concord to Mr. Samuel Bowles of Springfield....

The marriage ceremony was performed by the Rev. Grindall Reynolds, a former pastor, and the service was very impressive.

The ushers of the occasion were Messrs. Sherman Hoar, Rockwood Hoar, Prescott Evarts, Dwight Bowles, Daniel C. French and Thomas M. Osborn.

At the termination of the marriage ceremony, carriages were taken to the residence of the bride's father, Hon. E. R. Hoar, where a reception was held, for which some five or six hundred invitations had been issued; an orchestra from Boston furnished the music and a collation was served....

Among the distinguished guests present were the following: Senator George F. Hoar and wife, Hon. Wm. M. Evarts and wife, Hon. Frank Bird and wife, Miss Bird, Mrs. Bowles, Miss Bessie Bowles, Mrs. King, Mr. and Mrs. Hooper, Mrs. Phillips, Miss Alexander, Mr. Charles Bowles, Mr. Frank Bowles, Mrs. Osborn, Miss Osborn, Mr. and Mrs. Harris, Mrs. Robinson, Miss Foot, Mr. Frank Foot, Mr. and Mrs. Ware, Mrs. Howard, Mrs. C. Beaman, Mrs. Thatcher, Miss Bessie Thatcher, Mr. Charles White, Miss Helen Van Voast, Mr. William Pritchard and the Misses Pritchard, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Hoar, Miss Florence Hoar, the Hon. George M. Brooks and wife, Mrs. Grindall Reynolds, the Rev. B. R. Bulkley and wife, Mr. and Mrs. William B. Storer, Mr. and Mrs. Van Nest, Robert Storer, Miss Elsie Storer, Mrs. Ralph Waldo Emerson, Miss Ellen T. Emerson and Miss Louisa M. Alcott....

A CHECK LIST OF CONCORD ACADEMY STUDENTS IN THOREAU'S DAY

By THE EDITOR

Most of the evidence for the participation of the following students in the life of the Concord Academy was published in my article, "Young Henry Thoreau in the Annals of the Concord Academy (1829-1833)," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 9 (IV Quarter 1957), pp. 1-42. Such a list as this invites additions, which the present compiler would greatly welcome.

ADAMS, MARTHA. Enrolled Sept.-Nov., 1828.
ALCOTT GIRLS. See N E Q, XXVIII, p. 486.
ATWILL, SARAH DODGE. Of Boston. Enrolled Sept.-Nov., 1828.
BAKER, WILLIAM C. Of Boston. In Concord Academy Debating Society. Declaimed Aug. 22, 1829, and Aug. 18, 1830.
BALL FAMILY CHILDREN. Esp. Ephraim Merriam Ball, who died July 5, 1851. See Middlesex Freeman, July 11, 1851, p. 3, and Thoreau's Journal, II, p. 288 (July 7, 1851). He was H.U. 1850. See Memoirs of...the Social Circle, IV, 10-11.
BARRETT, EDWIN SHEPARD. See Memoirs of...the Social Circle, IV, 165.
BARRETT, ELIZABETH W. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
BARRETT, JONATHAN FAY. Concord Academy Debating Society. Declaimed Aug. 18, 1830, and 1832-1833. Quarter ending Nov., 1833. Entered Harvard in Sept., 1834.
BARRETT, RICHARD. See Memoirs of...the Social Circle, III, 167-168.
BARTLETT, GORHAM. See N E Q, XXVIII, p. 486.
BASON, ALBERT. See N E Q, XXVIII, p. 486.
BATCHELLER, HANNAH REED. Of Grafton. Sept.-Nov., 1828.
BATCHELLER, SARAH STONE. Of Grafton. Attended Sept.-Nov., 1828.
BATES, REUBEN. H.U. 1829. Probably attended.
BEATH CHILDREN. See N E Q, XXVIII, p. 486.
BENT, EDWIN J. Declaimed ca. 1831-1833.
BOWERS, CHARLES. In Concord Academy Debating Society.
BOWERS, HELEN E. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
BOWERS, MARY G. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
BRIDGE, ALBERT W. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
BROOKS, CAROLINE DOWNES. 1829-1833. Wrote theme "On Cruelty to Animals." Sept.-Nov., 1828.
BROOKS, GEORGE MERRICK. Entered Academy aged 6-7. Attended 1832-1834; 1838-1839. H.U. 1844. Declaimed.
BROOKS, JOHN W. Of Stow. Memoirs of...the Social Circle, III, 145-146.
BROWN, JOHN. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
BROWN, LEONARD. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
BROWN, SARAH. Wrote theme on "Studies."
BURR, SAMUEL. 1838-1840.
CLARK, ELBRIDGE. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
CLARKE, SARAH DAVIS. Of Brookline. Sept-Nov., 1828. Wrote theme "Of Studies."
COLBURN, SUSAN C. Of Claiborne, Ala. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
CONANT, LAURA A. Of Boston. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
CONANT, NANCY P. Of Littleton. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
CUTLER, ELIZA A. Of Lexington. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
DAKIN, ASAHEL. Of Lincoln. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
DAVIS FAMILY CHILDREN. ? Jonathan Thomas Davis. See Memoirs of...the Social Circle, IV, 10-11.
DAVIS, ABBY HUBBARD. Sept.-Nov., 1828.
DAVIS, AUGUSTUS. Sept.-Nov., 1828. There was a William Augustus Davis in Thoreau's Harvard Class of 1837.
DAVIS, JONATHAN THOMAS. H.U. 1829.
DAVIS, JOSIAH GARDNER. In Concord Academy Debating Society. Declaimed: Nov. 22, 1828; Aug. 18, 1830; Feb. 25, 1830; Feb. 25, 1829. Enrolled Sept.-Nov., 1828. Also ca. 1831-1832.
DAVIS, MARY. Sept.-Nov., 1828.
DENNIS, CYNTHIA E. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
DENNIS, HIRAM BARRETT. H.U. 1835.
DERBY, WILLIAM J. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
EVARTS, WILLIAM MAXWELL. Memoirs of...the Social Circle, V, 73.
FARRAR, JAMES. Of Lincoln. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
FIELD, MARTHA ANN. Of Lincoln.
FISKE, ANDREW. Of Weston. Concord Academy Debating Society. Declaimed Feb. 25, 1830.
FISKE, GEORGE. Declaimed Aug. 22, 1829.
FISKE, ISAAC. Concord Academy Debating Society. Declaimed Aug. 18, 1830. Enrolled ca. 1831-1832.
FISKE, LUCY B. Of Lincoln. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
GATES, ELIZABETH S. Of Ashby. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
GOURGAS, FRANCIS RICHARD. See Memoirs of...the Social Circle, III, 25-29. Boarded with Deacon Hubbard while a pupil at the Academy. Later edited the Concord Freeman. Born Aug. 22, 1811; died July 12, 1863.
HARDING, JESSE. See N E Q, XXVIII, p. 486.
HARMSTAD, NANCY. Wrote theme, "Application."
HASTINGS, DEMING J. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
HEYWOOD, GEORGE.
HIDDEN, STEPHEN. Sept.-Nov., 1828. Declaimed Aug. 23, 1828.
HINE, HOWE. See N E Q, XXVIII, p. 486.
HOAR, EBENEZER ROCKWOOD. Sept., 1828, through 1830. Themes extant. Declaimed often. Member of the Concord Academy Debating Society.
HOAR, EDWARD SHERMAN. H.U. 1844. Quarter ending Nov., 1833. With H.D.T. set town forest on fire in April, 1844. In July, 1858, went with H.D.T. to White Mountains, camping on Mt. Washington.
HOAR, ELIZABETH. Sept.-Nov., 1828. Theme on "Perplexity in a School Girl."
HOAR, FRISBIE. See N E Q, XXVIII, p. 486. Probably the same as George Frisbie Hoar, q.v.
HOAR, GEORGE FRISBIE. H.U. 1846. Declaimed ca. 1832-1833. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
HOAR, SARAH SHERMAN. Sept.-Nov., 1828.
HOSMER, ANN P. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
HOSMER, HELEN M. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
HOSMER, JAMES D. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
HOWE, GEORGE. Declaimed Aug. 22, 1829.
HUBBARD, REBECCA P. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
HUBBARD, SUSAN H. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
JEWELL, SILAS T. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
JOHNSON, B. F. Declaimed ca. 1831-1832.
KEYES, JOHN SHEPARD. Began at Academy at age of 6 (1827). Declaimed Aug. 22, 1829, Aug. 18, 1830, Feb. 25, 1830. Quarter ending Nov., 1833. Entered Harvard in Sept., 1837. H.U. 1841.
LAWRENCE, RUFUS BIGELOW. Of Groton. H.U. 1834, formerly of Class of 1833. Member of Concord Academy Debating Society. Sept.-Nov., 1828. Declaimed Nov. 22, 1828.
LORING, GEORGE. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
MANN, LUCY M. Of Dover. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
MARSHALL, ELBRIDGE. Of Littleton. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.
MAYNARD, JOHN. Declaimed ca. 1832-1833.
MERIAM, HORATIO COOK. H.U. 1829. Born in Concord, 1806.
MILES, LUCY. Sept.-Nov., 1828.
MILES, SAMUEL S. Declaimed ca. 1831-1832.

MOORE, GEORGE. H.U. 1834. Concord Academy Debating Society. Declaimed Aug. 22, 1829; Aug. 18, 1830; Feb. 25, 1830.

MUNROE FAMILY CHILDREN. ? Francis Munroe. See Memoirs of...the Social Circle, IV, 10-11.

NELSON, ALBERT HOBART. H.U. 1832. Declaimed Aug. 23, 1828.

NICKLES, RICHMOND. Of Carlisle. 1832-1833.

PARKER, NATHANIEL GEORGE AUGUSTUS. Of Boston. Concord Academy Debating Society. Declaimed Nov. 22, 1828; Aug. 23, 1828; Feb. 25, 1829; enrolled Sept.-Nov., 1828.

PEABODY, OWEN GLENDOUR. Declaimed ca. 1831-1832.

PERCIVAL, FRANCES ANN PARKER. Of Lincoln. Sept.-Nov., 1828.

PIERCE, SAMUEL H. Declaimed ca. 1832-1833.

PRATT, HARRIET N. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

PRESCOTT FAMILY CHILDREN. ? Martha Lawrence Prescott. See Memoirs of...the Social Circle, IV, 10-11.

PRESCOTT, CHARLES H. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

PRESCOTT, MARTHA L. K. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

PRICHARD, AMELIA M. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

PRICHARD, ELIZABETH HALLETT. Qurter ending Nov., 1833. Also Sept.-Nov., 1828.

PRICHARD, FRANCES JANE HALLETT. Sept.-Nov., 1828. Wrote theme on "Evening."

PRICHARD, MOSES BARNARD. Declaimed Aug. 18, 1830.

PRICHARD, WILLIAM MACKAY. H.U. 1833. Concord Academy Debating Society. Declaimed Feb. 25, 1829; Aug. 22, 1829; Feb. 25, 1830.

RICE, LUCIA M. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

ROBBINS, AUGUSTUS. Of Harvard, Mass. Sept.-Nov., 1828.

SEWELL, EDMUND. See Sanborn, The Life of Henry David Thoreau (1917), p. 202; see N E Q, XXVIII, 473-489.

SHATTUCK, HENRY L. Quarter ending Nov., 1833. Declaimed ca. 1831-1832.

SHATTUCK, SARAH E. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

SHEPHERD, WILLIAM F. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

SHERMAN, JOHN D. Of Lincoln. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

SMITH, FRANCIS. Of Lincoln. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

SMITH, MARIA L. Of Lincoln. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

STACEY, ELIZA B. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

STEDMAN, DANIEL BAXTER. Of Boston. Concord Academy Debating Society. Sept.-Nov., 1828. Declaimed Nov. 22, 1828; Feb. 25, 1829.

STEARNS, EDWARD JOSIAH. Of Lincoln and Bedford. Concord Academy Debating Society. Sept.-Nov., 1828. Declaimed Nov. 22, 1828.

STOW, LYDIA B. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

STOW, MARY. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

STOW, NATHAN BROOKS. See Memoirs of...the Social Circle, IV, 201.

TARBELL, JANE. Of Lincoln. Sept.-Nov., 1828.

THAYER, ISAAC F. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

THAYER, WILLIAM SYDNEY. H.U. 1850. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

THOREAU, HENRY DAVID. Concord Academy Debating Society. Declaimed Aug. 18, 1830; Feb. 25, 1830; Feb. 25, 1829; Aug. 22, 1829. Attended 1829-1833.

THOREAU, JOHN. Concord Academy Debating Society. Declaimed Aug. 23, 1828; Nov. 22, 1828.

THOREAU, SOPHIA ELIZABETH. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

TUTTLE, AUGUSTUS S. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

TUTTLE, WILLIAM G. Of Littleton. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

VOSE, HENRY. Of Boston. Sept.-Nov., 1828. Declaimed Aug. 23, 1828; Nov. 22, 1828; Feb. 25, 1829. H.U. 1837.

WARREN, HENRY. A pupil of John and Henry Thoreau. See F. B. Sanborn, The Life of Henry David Thoreau (1917), pp. 201ff.

WETHERBY, MARY. Of Acton. Sept.-Nov., 1828.

WHEELER, CHARLES STEARNS. H.U. 1837. Mentions the Academy in the Harvard "Class Book of 1837".

WHEELER, SUSAN ELVIRA. Sept.-Nov., 1828.

WHIPPLE, AMIEL W. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

WHITE, EDWARD HENRY. Concord Academy Debating Society.

WHITING FAMILY CHILDREN. See Memoirs of...the Social Circle, IV, 10-11.

WHITING, ANN MARIA. Sept.-Nov., 1828.

WHITING, LOUISA JANE. Sept.-Nov., 1828.

WHITING, WILLIAM, JR. H.U. 1833. Concord Academy Debating Society. Declaimed throughout 1828 and 1829.

WHYTE, BENJAMIN F. Of Brookline. Concord Academy Debating Society.

WOOD, JAMES BARRETT. Born Sept. 23, 1824. Studied under the Thoreaus. See Memoirs of...the Social Circle, IV, 258.

WOODWARD, ELIZA. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

WRIGHT, EDWARD WILLIAM. Concord Academy Debating Society. Declaimed Feb. 25, 1830.

WYMAN, SUSAN H. Quarter ending Nov., 1833.

EMERSON'S "DAYS" IN JAPANESE

By YUKIO IRIE

[Professor Yukio Irie, of the Tokyo University of Education, who has just returned to Japan after many months of study in the United States, has sent us his translation of Emerson's most celebrated poem, with the following commentary:

"I am enclosing my translation in Japanese of Emerson's 'Days,' which I wrote with a Japanese writing brush. I had not used a writing brush for many, many years! . . . You must read the translation from right to left, from top to bottom. The big two words on the right side are the title of the poem: 'Days.' Then comes 'Ralph Waldo Emerson.' Then, the third line is 'Translated by Yukio Irie.' Then the eleven lines of the poem...."

"I have been receiving The Emerson Society Quarterly each time with deep appreciation. I am now to send the annual membership, but the trouble is the difficulty of sending money abroad.... I have introduced the Society and the Thoreau Society to many people here, and they are all interested in them, but the question 'How shall we send the money?' has been the stumbling block...."

Tokyo University of Education
24 Otsuka-Kubomachi
Bunkyo-ku
Tokyo, Japan.

Home address:
3-429, Toyama Heights
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo
Japan]

歳月

ラルフ・ウォルドー・エマスン
入江勇起男訳

時の精の娘ら、あの猫被りのうまい月日が
はだしの回教僧のように顔くるみ口つぐんで、
際限もない一列の行進、
まにまに王冠や粗朶を運んで来る。
娘らはみんなに意志次第の贈物を与える、
パン、王國、星ぐすべてを容れる大空。
私は庭造りこらした自分の苑に入って美しさに見とれ
朝抱いた望みを忘れていた、慌てて
草と林檎をわずか取ったが、日は
あちらを向いて黙って去った。厳しい髪紐の下に
俊蔵の眼なざしを見たときは、もう遅かった。

WHITMAN AT SIXTY-TWO.

WALT WHITMAN AND SADAKICHI HARTMANN

By GEORGE HENDRICK

Gene Fowler's biography of Sadakichi Hartmann entitled Minutes of the Last Meeting[1] pays careful attention to the Walt Whitman—Hartmann relationship, but uncollected Hartmann items in the Bucke Scrapbooks at Duke University provide additional information concerning Whitman. John Barrymore commented that Hartmann, the half-Japanese, half-German art critic and bohemian, was "a living freak presumably sired by Mephistopheles out of Madame Butterfly;"[2] Whitman and some of his followers had been as outspoken.

Whitman had been friendly at first and expressed high hopes for Hartmann. Many of Whitman's friends considered Sadakichi "as a humbug;" "The Boston fellows," Whitman noted, "seem to be particularly strong against him: some of them seem to think that if he is not a bad egg, he is at least the raw stuff of a bad egg."[3]

Three years after first meeting Whitman in 1884 and while still in the poet's favor, Hartmann had "become a very close student" of Whitman's works and had "produced a number of prose poems in imitation of him, among them a 'To Walt Whitman.'"[4] Hartmann's adulatory prose poem follows.

TO WALT WHITMAN

Poet of America! The language of thy songs is rough, but its natural sternness penetrates to the soul, and is the harbinger of a new poetry, and a higher school of art than even that of Greece.

Renovator of glories, past and forgotten! Prophet of grand futures, of sacred unions, and true democracies! Exposer of existing wrongs, pleader for reform, longing for a race of independent men and women of moral strength and religiousness; for happier domestic lives, worthy of the eternal soul of earthly pioneers. Manliest man, not ashamed of doing any kind of work, thou callest every honest occupation good and grand.

Listening patiently to the voice of common people, not excluding prostitutes, with faith in mankind, knowing their good and bad, thou believest in progress, and becomest the companion of all souls travelling on the road of the universe. Thou lighten'st the burdens, thou lessen'st the cares of thy comrades, and givest freely alms, being poor thyself. Oh, would all men taste only once in their life the joy of self-sacrifice, which thou hast felt in nursing for many a year the sick and wounded soldiers of the Secession War.

Adorer of all organic beauties; thy God is no science, no sickly doubt, but nature's evangelism; the solitude is to thee a place more fit for devotion that illuminated sanctuaries, tabernacles, and altars.

Friend of youth, maturity, and age, thou see'st in babes sucking their mother's breasts the heroes and bards of ages to come. Boldly revealing the joys of sexual intercourse, thou proudly assertest that the seminal fluid of a perfect father is the very essence of life, and that upon the wombs of perfect mothers the future and the happiness of the world depend. (Genuine womanhood, press an ardent kiss upon the bare breast of him who glorifies life's mysteries.)

Thy truths need no protector, time will prove their best apostle: If our generation can not rise to thy spiritual and moral purity, our children will be able to honor thy life, hallowed by Virginia's battle fields; and posterity will remember thee as one of the best and greatest men, which America, which the world produced.

Lover of mankind, sending to all brethren the kiss of divine fraternity, will thy dazzling dream of universal harmony be ever realized?--If every man and woman were as satisfied with life as thou art, then, much were gained; life would be, indeed, a paradise.

Walt Whitman, I do not call thee master, but I am bound to thee for ever, thy works were to me, except Love and Nature, the grandest lessons of my life.

Thou art to me like a star of promise, to whom I gaze at midnight, and who tells me of other globes sweeping through the universe.--My heart aches with delirious joys, my limbs tremble, and--I would kneel to thee, beautiful orb, if I did not feel that also my soul is a part of the incomprehensible totality which creates and maintains.

C. Sadakitshe Hartmann.[5]

Hartmann went to Boston in 1887 and with capital of $100 attempted to found a Whitman Society "which all Whitman admirers would join in order to give him a permanent pension and do away once for all with donations and charitable gifts."[6] Whitman "forbade the launching of the enterprise," and Baxter and the Boston group "squelched Hartmann."[7]

Hartmann was only temporarily subdued. The next year he sold to the New York Herald for twelve dollars "Notes of a Conversation

with the Good Gray Poet by a German Poet and Traveller," an article which was to arouse Whitman. The day before publication, the Herald announced "Walt Whitman's odd fancies in conversation have been written for to-morrow's Herald by the young German poet, C. Sadakichi Hartmann."[8] The Herald wrote on April 14, 1889, the day of the publication of Hartmann's article:

Walt Whitman is the most interesting figure in American literature to-day.

There is no one so widely loved and admired; no one so widely hated and maligned. He who has no enmities cannot help having enemies. He who loves the race with an all embracing love forgives slander and detraction because he knows that his mind is a revolutionary one which must excite the angry dissent of the conservative. And he would be the first to acknowledge that the conservative mind forms an important element in human progress and has a right to its convictions.

The opinions of such a man upon his contemporaries are of world wide interest. On another page of the HERALD will be found the estimates which he has formed of Lowell, Holmes, Whittier, Stedman, Bismarck, Gladstone, Parnell and many others. These were given freely and frankly in the course of conversation with a German traveller now in this country.

Hartmann's record of Whitman's conversations for the Herald follows.

One cannot say much about women. The best ones study Greek or criticise Byron--they are no women.

The Greek nation is the most remarkable one, after all.

I excuse a great deal of tyranny, even cruelty in the government of a nation.

There is a certain idea in my works--to glorify industry, nature and pure instinct.

The American nation is not much at present, but will be some day the most glorious one on earth. We are now tuning the instruments, afterward comes the music.

The old countries have also their destiny; there is no such thing as decay.

There is no worse devil than man.

Choice literature, I think, is empirical.

Taine's English Literature is one of the productions of our age.

Man is like a star, every one standing for himself.

I always remember that my ancestors were Dutch.

Sensuality I have done with, I have thrown it out, but it is natural, even a necessity.

I can hardly say that I had ever the idea to better mankind. I grew like a tree and the poems like fruit.

BRYANT AND OTHER WRITERS.

Bryant! He is our greatest poet. He has a smack of Americanism, American individuality, a smack of outdoor life, the wash of the sea, the mountains, forests and animals. But he is too melancholy for a great representative of American poetry.

Emerson's deficiency is that he doubts everything. He is a deep thinker, though he had hardly any influence on me; but people say so, may be, without any knowledge. He has much of the Persians and Oriental people. He is only the offspring of other suns tumbling through the universe.

Men should do as they please. Nobody has the right to interfere with another man's business, religion or habit. This I have said to Ingersoll.

Our time? We must settle a little more. But there seems to be a demand for this hurly burly time.

Poe has a tendency for the gloomy side of life.

About Hawthorne I have nothing particular to say. The multitude likes him. I have read his novels. In my opinion they do not amount to much. His works are languid, melancholy, morbid. He likes to dwell on crimes, on the sufferings of the human heart, which he analyzes by far too much.

Byron became bitter through the ups and downs of his career, his life--specially the downs. A desperate fierceness is predominant in his works. But I like something more free--Homer, Shakespeare, Walter Scott, Emerson.

BISMARCK AND WASHINGTON

Bismarck's work of life is to make Germany strong and powerful.

It doesn't matter much who is there in Washington. Certainly, they must have one and I think Harrison tries to do his best. He is sufficient.

Lincoln was our greatest man. I sometimes ask myself what would have become of us if he hadn't been President during those terrible years 1862-65.

The theory of our government is to give to every man the freedom of his activity--to work, study, electrify.

Our literature will come! The newspapers indicate it, miserable as they are. Miserable and grand, too, as they are.

If the common consent of people think churches a necessity, then they ought to be.

Everybody who reads novels not for mere pleasure will admire Walter Scott. He had a Shakespearian variety of subjects. He did not analyze and anatomize his characters.

George Washington had the power of organization, the ability to identify the power of the State. He was an Englishman, an English Franklin, wealthy, well educated, with high morals.

To write the life [of] a human being takes many a book, and after all the story is not told.

HOLMES AND OTHERS.

O. W. Holmes! Very witty, very smart, not first rank and not second rank; man of fine culture, who knows how to move in society; he takes the same place in modern society as the court singer and troubadours in the Middle Ages, who had a taste for castles, ladies, festivals etc., who knew exactly how to move among kings and princes, but something was failing, that very thing that had made him a poet.

J. R. Lowell, cute, elegant, well dressed; somewhat of a Yankee; student, college.

Paul Hayne, I don't know much about him; quite a poet, genteel, etc.; nothing dazzling.

Some persons think they are poets if they have a feeling for jewels, paste gems, feathers, birds, flowers, perfume, etc. In a barbaric country among uncivilized people they would deserve some praise, but not in our time, when everybody can imagine these things.

Whittier was a strong poet, the favorite of Horace Greeley--as good and powerful in his old days as in his young. Much earnestness and fierceness bends all his Quaker peace.

Stoddard is fair, but many are like him.

In Denver I would like to live.

Never forget to study the old, grand poets, but do not imitate them. We want something which pays reverence to our time.

In New York, Boston, etc., they eat their bread and beef and digest it for the Western world, but in the Valley of the Mississippi is quite another life.

I am no worshipper of beauty. I think there is not such a thing as abstract beauty.

Stedman is, after all, nothing but a sophisticated dancing master. If Hercules or Apollo himself would make their appearance he would look at them only from the standpoint of a dancing master.

If anything has a destiny the English language has a destiny. In my books, in my prose as well as my poetry, are many knots to untie.

"Leaves of Grass" are the reflections of American life and ideas which reflect again.

Rousseau I have never read, of Voltaire now and then a quotation.

I don't know why some men compare my book with the Bible.

Verdi, I think, is one of the best musicians; he is a storm with the intention of being a real storm. Mendelssohn is my favorite. I always like to hear him. Music is the only art where we get something.

I live very economically, but you don't know what support I get of my friends; besides I write for the magazines and get well paid. The state of my affairs is at present very bright. Why should I trouble myself. I have only a few years more to live.

C. SADAKICHI HARTMANN.[9]

Whitman was especially upset about his published comments on Stedman and denied the authenticity of the whole report calling it "utterly fradulent."[10] Whitman complained that his comments had been "absurdly warped: everything that should have been straight was crooked. He put Carlylean fire into my mouth...said things for me I didn't say for myself."[11]

After Whitman's death, Sadakichi published the conversations in a fifty-one page book, placing the Herald quotations in their real or imagined context. Kennedy believed the conversations genuine and felt Whitman had been "driven in desperation" to deny their authenticity.[12] Binns referred to Sadakichi's account as "an amusing but ill-advised record...a document which seems to the English minds somewhat more injudicious than other Whitmanite publications...."[13] Although Traubel complained, "Between the reports of Jim Scovel & Hartmann both scoundrels and liars the public will imagine that W.W. lives with his mouth open,"[14] it is not possible now to ascertain the strict accuracy of Hartmann's account.

1 Gene Fowler, Minutes of the Last Meeting, N.Y.,1954.
2 Ibid., p. 7.
3 Horace Traubel, With Walt Whitman in Camden, N.Y., 1908, II, 321.
4 Sadakichi Hartmann, Conversations with Walt Whitman, New York, 1895, p. 35.
5 Bucke Scrapbooks at Duke University.
6 Hartmann, Conversations with Walt Whitman, p. 35.
7 Traubel, op. cit., II, 281.
8 New York Herald, April 13, 1889. Clipping in Bucke Scrapbooks.
9 New York Herald, April 14, 1889. Scrapbooks.
10 William Sloane Kennedy, Reminiscences of Walt Whitman, London, 1896, p. 65.
11 Traubel, op. cit., II, 394; see also IV, 457.
12 William Sloane Kennedy, The Fight of a Book for the World, West Yarmouth, Mass., 1926, pp. 87-88.
13 Henry Binns, A Life of Walt Whitman, London, 1905, p. 319.
14 Note in Dr. Bucke's handwriting, quoting a letter from Traubel. Bucke Scrapbooks.

---University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado.

FROM THOREAU'S INDIAN MANUSCRIPTS

By LAWRENCE WILLSON

The only two students of Thoreau's Indian Notebooks who have published more than a cursory comment on their reading of that voluminous body of quotations from the many works of history, anthropology, and related subjects which Thoreau read during the last ten years or so of his life, are Jason A. Russell and Professor Albert Keiser.[1] Yet one who has the perseverance to wade the endless wallow of detail turns the last page of the eleventh volume[2] with some greater understanding than he previously had of the breadth of Thoreau's interests, his scholarship, and his human sympathies. Perhaps for every American there is a thrill in reading about Indians, and one constantly shares the excitement, the interest, the pity and anger, which must have moved Thoreau as he copied page after page of information.

From the great unorganized welter of notes, it would be possible to build a dozen monographs about the American aborigines, ranging in subject matter from their ideas of God and immortality through their agricultural practices and their knowledge of botany and astronomy, their crafts, their languages, their medical practice, their history and relation to other primitive peoples, and the history of their association with each other and with white men, to such matters as their table manners, their methods of salutation, their bathing habits--even their toilet habits and the peculiar customs of the squaws in their "lunar retreats." And in these essays it would be possible to take in turn a dozen differing points of view, since Thoreau simply wrote down his notes endlessly, doggedly, without discrimination (although there is usually a leading bibliographical note or an exasperated marginal query to guide the reader)--mostly copying verbatim from his sources, which range magnificently from John Barber's Historical Collections...of every Town in Massachusetts (the first work mentioned in the first of the Notebooks) through the Rev. Henry Cary's translation of Herodotus (in Bohn's Classical Library), which is the last of the volumes from which Thoreau actually copied extracts.

The first page of the first Notebook gives a fair indication of Thoreau's method of assembling his materials--although without the abundance of detail which follows in the later entries--as well as a suggestion of his multitudinous antiquarian interests, some only obliquely and some not at all related to Indians.

Interesting houses--localities &c in Mass....

Bug ate out of a table in Williamstown 73 years after the egg was laid.
Leonard's forge with trees in Raynham. first iron forge in Am. Still in use.
Grave & well of William Blackstone of Boston peninsula--in Cumberland R. I. near Blackstone River.
Gosnold's store-house--cellar of built 1602
Merrimack rose 21 feet at Bradfor[d] in 1818
Houses & habits of our ancestors in Lewis' Hist Lynn[3]
Ancient house in Deerfield (pulled down?) [Here Thoreau has inserted a penciled note:] Yes but door preserved, view of it in...Gleason's pictorial 1851[4]
Some Ind. relics in Westfield Academy....
Fort once on Spear's (now Indian) Hill in Littleton. Old garrison house S.E. Nashoba now 170 years old.
Ancient oak in Dedham.
Ancient house in Medfield standing when town was burn[t] in 1676 [Inserted note:] Only one of its kind?
Old church in Hingham built 1680
Ind. relics at Pilgrim Hall Plymouth
Oldest house in N.E.? in Scituate.
Miss Goodenow's grave in Northborough killed by Ind. 1707
French Protestant Fort & vine in Oxford.[5]

Thoreau intended, of course, to make use of the details which he copied in such mass, but death intervened to thwart his intentions. Of this list of notes from Barber, he later utilized only one: the first, in the concluding chapter of Walden. The thousands of others in the Indian Notebooks remain simply notes, somehow reminding one of Thoreau's statement that "The youth gets together his materials to build a bridge to the moon, or perchance a palace or temple on the earth, and at length the middle-aged man concludes to build a wood-shed with them." Only, in this instance, the woodshed must be built by less practiced hands, and of rather unpromising wood. There is little of the quality of Thoreau in most of the extracts which he quoted.

Toward the end of the eleventh Notebook, however, the reader is mildly rewarded for his long pain by discovering the germ of an essay on things great and little, in the characteristic style of Thoreau. Twenty-five years ago Professor Kaiser published this passage under the title, "New Thoreau Material."[6] In his brief prefatory note, he observed, with some understatement, that "the ideas may be neither brilliant nor profound"; the passage hardly merits attention except by those insistent Thoreauvians and scholars who wish to establish the canon and to have a text as correct as possible. After examining the passage with scrupulous care--which is unavoidable if one intends to read it at all (for Professor Kaiser is again guilty of understatement, in my opinion, when he says that it is "fairly legible")--I have concluded that in several instances the text as published is inaccurate, although in only one passage is it seriously so. (Perhaps this is the passage which, according to Professor Kaiser, "presents insuperable difficulties.")

I consequently offer the passage again, in the interests of accuracy, perhaps to encourage a later reader of the Notebooks to correct my errors and to supply those words which have presented problems for me. I have attempted, with only moderate success, to reproduce Thoreau's penciled emendations and to follow the original text, not the corrected copy, as Professor Kaiser did. When the penciled notes are so illegible as to be irreducible to sense, I have relegated them to footnotes.[7] The passage is dated "Dec. 4th 60."

Many ~~if not most of our~~ public speakers are accustomed, as I think foolishly, to talk about little things[8]—& occasionally to patronize them[9]—& by these they[10] mean those whose diameter consists of but few inches or lines—& which few men know much about— In making this distinction they really use no juster measure than a 10 foot pole & the [common][11] ignorance— Ac. to this measure, a small potatoe is a little thing—a big one a great thing— [I have noticed[12]] Whatever is thought to be covered by the word education—whether reading, writing, or 'rithmetic—is a great thing—but almost all that constitutes education is a little thing [? to them]— In this country a political speech—whether by Mr Seward or Caleb Cushing is a great thing—a ray of light a little thing.[13] But the truth is, that almost every thing good or great is little in their sense[14]— What is the greatest thing ~~in any country or city~~ [anywhere]— but the[15] little community of comparatively wise or righteous men in it—but this [You will [?] be sure] the popular[16] journals never speak well of [&]—the appointed authorities never protect—but [if it should need protection] instead of this they recognize the interests of the merchants as the great[17] thing to be celebrated & protected.

Greater is the diameter of the husk of any fruit than that of its kernel—but it is commonly the husk only that is gathered & stored up. It is only the husk of Christianity that is so bruited & wide-spread in the world—the kernel is still the very least & rarest of all things. I have observed that English naturalists quite generally have a pitiful habit of speaking of their proper pursuit as a sort[18] of trifling or waste[19] of time for which they must[20] ask the[21] pardon of the reader—a mere interruption to[22] ~~their~~[23] great & serious enterprises—as if they would have you believe that all the rest of their lives they have been employed ~~in~~ [about][24] some truly great & serious ~~enterprise~~ [af-

fair]—but it happens that we never hear more of this as we certainly should—if it were only some public or philanthropic service[25]—but they have ~~only~~[26] been engaged in the magnanimous & heroic enterprise of feeding, clothing housing & warming themselves —the chief value of all[27] which was that it enabled them to pursue just these studies of which they speak so slightingly. It is in effect at least[28] mere cant.

A hippopotamus is a great thing—a dove a little thing. The big cheese which it took so many oxen to draw is a great thing—a snowflake a little thing.

A hogshead of tobacco or rum[29] or a big cheese or a fat ox[30]—or the horse chestnut[31] or Mr.[32] but[33] there is no danger that anybody will call these little things

Their[34] little things are not great but gross—or great only as some pumpkins are—they are some pumpkins. Their[34] little things are not little but fine—they are some huckleberries.

It is late now, and probably not very important, to conjecture about the inspiration of this mildly acid commentary which seems to grow almost incoherent in its annoyance as it progresses, until it reaches the comparatively bland concluding paragraph. The date, however, reminds us that on the previous day, 3 December 1860, after he had spent the afternoon on Fair Haven Hill counting the rings on a hickory stump and measuring white oaks, and had later, in conversation with Walcott and Staples, defended John Brown by drawing an effective analogy between his career and that of Jesus,[35] he "took a severe cold" and was for some months thereafter confined to the house.[36] The cold and the incarceration explain the acid tone, especially for Thoreau. Moreover, four or five inches of snow fell on the evening of the fourth.

Most significant of all, instead of sauntering forth into the snow, the first of the season, Thoreau was reduced to reading the New York Tribune.[37] His ire was strongly aroused by the communication of a Canadian correspondent, who was sentimentally distressed that the judges of Toronto might be reluctantly "compelled" to return a fugitive slave to be "probably burned to death by the brutes of the South." Thoreau's outraged rejoinder is characteristic:

> Compelled! By whom? Does God compel them? or is it some other master whom they serve?... If they are fairly represented, I wouldn't trust their courage to defend a setting hen of mine against a weasel.[38]

After three pages of intense indignation, a man with a severe cold, who wants to be out in the first snowstorm of the winter, may well descend from thundering to grumbling and incoherency. It is quite possible that Thoreau's remarks in the Indian Notebooks are his footnote to another, less exasperating item in the Tribune. At any rate, I suggest to the next man who tries to decipher the passage, that he look through that issue of late November or early December, 1860, for a report of a public address, by a politician no doubt, about "great and little things."

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1 See Russell's "Thoreau: The Interpreter of the Real Indian," Queen's Quarterly, XXXV, 37-48 (August, 1927); and Keiser's "Thoreau's Manuscripts on the Indians," J E G P, XXVII, 183-199 (April, 1928), and "Thoreau—Friend of the Native," The Indian in American Literature, N.Y., 1933, pp. 209-232.

2 Although only eleven notebooks are gathered in the collection in the Morgan Library under the general classification, "Extracts from Works, relative to the Indians" (M.A. 596—M.A. 606), it is apparent that the so-called "Canadian Notebook" (M.A. 595) is not only a part of the series, but actually the first volume in order of composition. The earliest date I find recorded in the notebooks is in this volume, where Thoreau lists under the date 18 November 1850, the books at the Harvard College Library in which he has consulted old maps. The latest date recorded is on the last page of M.A. 606; Thoreau notes, under 7 November 1860, that he "looked over" the second series of Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. Professor Keiser says ("Thoreau's Manuscripts on the Indians," p. 184), "The work was probably not begun before 1848, for on p. 53 of Notebook 2 there appears an extract from Squier's Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley, which was published during the afore-mentioned year." I should be inclined, however, to advance the date by a couple of years, to 1850. But it is dangerous to attach too much authority to dates in the notebooks in their present numbered order, for it cannot be assumed, I think, that this is the order in which Thoreau wrote them. The latest date in M.A. 595, for example, is December, 1856, in the draft of a letter. Of course, this letter may have found its way by accident into the notebook, but there are several 1855 references there and a second of 1856, all of which suggest that Thoreau merely wrote his notes in whatever notebook happened to be at hand when the mood struck him. It would certainly be unwise to assume that Thoreau read his source books in the year of their publication. Actually, of course, Thoreau's Indian researches began in his childhood, or at least when he drew the first pertinent volume from the Harvard Library: Captain Basil Hall's Travels in North America, on 11 September 1833 (Harvard College Library Charging-Lists, 1833-1834, Part 2, p. 226). (Kenneth W. Cameron in his useful and accurate survey of Thoreau's withdrawals from the Harvard Library ["Books Thoreau Borrowed from Harvard College Library," pp. 191-208 of Volume 2 of Emerson the Essayist, Raleigh, N.C., 1945] is possibly wrong, I think, in identifying this book as Colonel Francis Hall's Travels in Canada and the U.S. in 1816 and 1817. The Charging-Lists record, to be sure, "Hall's Travels U.S."; but they record also "[Vols.] 1.2." Francis Hall's book was published in one volume (Boston, 1818; London, 1819), but Basil Hall's was published in three volumes in Edinburgh, two in Philadelphia [1829].) Thoreau's constant interest in the Indian began at least by the fall of 1850, when he began to draw at a hither-

to unparalleled rate upon the Library's resources in Champlain, Cartier, Lescarbot, and other early voyagers and historians. His last withdrawals, on 7 November 1860, were Thomas Jefferson's Notes on the State of Virginia and David Crantz's The History of Greenland.

3 Alonzo Lewis, The History of Lynn, Boston, 1829.

4 The first issue of Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion appeared in Boston on 3 May 1851. (After 1854, the periodical was published by M. M. Ballou under the title of Ballou's...Companion; it expired in 1859.) The house in Deerfield to which Thoreau refers was the Sheldon house. For another comment on the "view of it," see the entry in his Journal of 1 February 1856, which contains a reference to the source of his information in Barber: "The Sheldon house in Deerfield, pulled down about eight years since, represented in Gleason's Pictorial for 1851 and in Barber, is in the style of the Hunt house [in Concord], except that there is but one window on each side of the door. It and the meeting-house alone of those within the fort survived the assault of 1704, and the door through which a hole was cut and a woman shot is still preserved." (The Writings of Henry David Thoreau, Walden Edition, VIII.) Thoreau's references to the Sheldon house are interesting in their illustration of his persistence in the pursuit of a subject which attracted his attention; the initial note from Barber was recorded surely as early as 1850.

5 M.A. 596. All the notes are taken from John W. Barber's Historical Collections, Worcester, 1839. I quote them by permission of the Trustees of the Pierpont Morgan Library.

6 M L N, XLIV, 253-254 (April, 1929).

7 Thoreau's penciled insertions and corrections I have enclosed in brackets, where I have been able to restore them--except where it would clutter up the text to do so; those instances are indicated in footnotes. The excisions I have struck out, as in the first line of the text. I have preserved Thoreau's punctuation and his abbreviations. In one or two instances Professor Keiser's "corrected copy" ignores the penciled additions.

8 Penciled insertion: "as a [illegible word] may sometimes"

9 Professor Keiser's reading here varies widely from mine, although the sense of the passage is not seriously affected. At this point he finds, as I do not, the phrase "suggesting by them neglected things." I find only a jumble of illegible penciled notes; the phrase may have been effaced by other thumbs in the twenty-five years since he deciphered them.

10 Keiser: "but by these things"

11 Emended from "their own"--as Keiser does not note.

12 I have here perforce omitted an illegible word.

13 At this point the penciled sentence is illigible. The only clear words are at the beginning: "In short whether they know."

14 Penciled insertion: "& very [illegible word] to your happiness"

15 Keiser: "that"

16 Keiser: "particular"

17 Keiser: "greatest"

18 Keiser: "bit"

19 Keiser: "wasting"

20 Keiser: "will"

21 Keiser omits.

22 Keiser: "of"

23 Keiser ignores the cancellation.

24 Keiser ignores the emendation.

25 Keiser: "reverie"

26 Keiser ignores the cancellation.

27 Keiser omits.

28 Keiser omits "at least."

29 Keiser omits because illegible.

30 Keiser: "ox or hog." Actually "hog" is entered, in ink, above the word "ox." To me the indication is that Thoreau had not made his final choice.

31 Keiser: "Norse Columbus."

32 Neither Professor Keiser nor I can supply the name. Since the space is blank except for letters that seem to be ther or ter (perhaps the last letters of a name originally inserted), I conclude that Thoreau was waiting for exactly the right venomous inspiration before he added a name. Professor Keiser has supplied a conjectural "[is a big thing]" here, but I am not convinced that that is what Thoreau meant.

33 Keiser omits.

34 Keiser: "then"

35 The Writings of Henry David Thoreau, ed. cit., XIV, 290-292.

36 Ibid., VI, p. 376.

37 Ten years earlier, in a letter of 9 August 1850, Thoreau had admonished his friend Blake, "Do not read the newspapers." (The Writings, VI, 186) But, ignoring his own advice, he had by 1852 begun to subscribe to the Tribune. His lament of 20 January 1852 suggests his state of mind on the evening in question: "I do not know but it is too much to read one newspaper in a week, for I now take the weekly Tribune, and for a few days past, it seems to me, I have not dwelt in Concord; the sun, the clouds, the snow, the trees say not so much to me." (Writings, IX, 208. Cf. "Life without Principle," Writings, IV, p. 471.)

38 Journal, XIV, 293. On the following page a reference to the god of the Greenlanders is possibly significant; the remarks on great and little things interrupt in the Indian Notebook a series of notes on David Crantz's The History of Greenland, London, 1767. Circumstantial evidence would seem to suggest that the Tribune and Crantz were clearly in Thoreau's mind at the same time.

EMERSON AT MIDDLETOWN IN CONNECTICUT

By BENJAMIN F. GRONEWOLD

The following letter[1] is of special interest to residents of Connecticut. Though Emerson frequently passed through the state, once preaching in Hartford, there is little evidence--outside the document to be edited herein--that he made much of an impact on Connecticut Yankees. I have asked Professor Kenneth Cameron, who lives in Hartford, not far from Middletown, to extend my brief commentary if Wesleyan University records permit. The recipient of Emerson's note was a member of the Class of 1846. He was born January 24, 1827, in Troy, N.Y., and died November 1, 1853. He studied law with his brother in New York City shortly after leaving Wesleyan. In 1847-1848, he taught in West Feliciana, Louisiana, where he finished his law studies. In 1849, he became Professor of Natural Science in Centenary College, Jackson, Louisiana, at the same time editing the Southern Mirror. Between 1852 and 1853, he again practiced law, this time in Clinton. In the latter year he was elected district attorney. Yellow fever was the cause of his death.[2]

1 The letter is owned by the Buffalo Historical As-

sociation, which has kindly permitted me to edit it here. Edward W. Forbes, Esq., president of the Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association, on behalf of the heirs, has given me leave to publish.

2 See Wesleyan University: Middletown, Connecticut: Alumni Records, 1833 to 1869, compiled by Orange Judd, N.Y., 1869, p. 97. Supplementary details were suppled through the courtesy of Grace W. Bacon, Reference Librarian, Olin Library, Wesleyan University.

[Addressed:]

Daniel Martindale
Wesleyan University
Middletown
Conn.

Concord, 10 June, 1846.

My dear Sir,

When I left Middletown I had a great good will to print my Oration, at the request of yourself & your associates; Yet, I think you will remember that I reserved a right to refuse it. There were some pages in the discourse concerning the "practical" & the "speculative man" which seemed to me incomplete, and I was willing to wait a little that I might express a little more adequately my sense of this matter. By waiting a little I became busy in new studies--somewhat spacious reading & writing for a course of lectures last winter in Boston The proposed question, too, had its attention & enlargement, but dragged in with it a piece of the Oration into a lecture on Goethe, and, I fear, a piece more into one on Montaigne, so that the original integer has suffered irreparable dismemberment. What augments the difficulty, I have been much importuned to publish the Seven Lectures, and, as they give me ampler room for treating the topics before me, I am inclined to comply. There remains a part of the Middletown discourse, which was special to the occasion & to the condition of the societies— I will look it over, & if it will serve any good purpose it might do to publish "an Extract" from it in your local newspaper, or in any Literary Journal that circulates in the College. I will see if this can be done with the paper, & if I find something, will communicate with you again. Meantime, you will please communicate the substance of this letter as the best apology I can now make to the Literary Societies, whose kindness and attention to the oration & the orator deserved from me every attention.

Yours respectfully,

R. Waldo Emerson.

I did not receive your letter until yesterday eve. on my return from a journey.

[A photostat of the above letter is being deposited in the Olin Library at Wesleyan.]

EMERSON AT
WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY
MIDDLETOWN, CONNECTICUT

By Kenneth Walter Cameron

The important letter which Professor Benjamin F. Gronewold discovered in Buffalo and published in the preceding article has an interesting background.[1]

1844, Sept. 24] The Philorhetorian Society of Wesleyan University "Voted, that a committee of three b[e] appointed by the Chair to confer with a comm[ittee] from the Peithologian Society on the Selection of an orator for Next Commencement." Those appointed were Elisha Boanerges Harvey, Joseph Jameson Lane and Amzi Wesley Genung.[2]

1844, Oct. 19] Emerson's Essays, Second Series was finally published, after a delay caused by a fire in Benjamin Bradley's bookbindery on the preceding September 9.[3] Concord was in the news, and "progressive student groups" throughout the country were becoming interested in the troublesome Transcendental heresy—even Methodists! The Philorhetorian Society, at Wesleyan, was primarily a debating organization. The Adelphian Society, later called the Peithologian Society had been the result of the union of the first Adelphian and the Non Nomenanda Societies.

1845, ca. January or earlier] The joint committees of the two literary societies had tried to secure Rufus Choate and Orville Dewey for the 1845 Commencement. For reasons to be mentioned below, neither was available.

1845, early February] Martindale, a member of the Peithologian Society, was probably the correspondent who extended to Emerson the invitation of both societies to be orator on August 6. (His letter does not survive among the papers owned by the Emerson Memorial Association in the Houghton Library at Harvard.)

1845, late February] Emerson accepted the invitation to Middletown long before he agreed to go to Middlebury College upon an invitation from a student group. (This letter apparently does not survive.)

1845, March 4] At a meeting of the Peithologian Society:[4] "The report of the committee on the Orator was then read by M[r] Martindale, which the Society accepted, in which the comm[ittee] are happy to state that R. W. Emerson of Mass. has consented, to comply with the invitation of the Societies as expressed by their committees (and therefore will be the Orator of the Peithologian Society for Commencement) the committee also report that they first made application to Mess. Choate, & Dewey but, both were in so critical a state of health, as to render it necessary that they should decline their invitation. They expressed a high sense of

gratitude for the honor confer[r]ed and request that the Societies may be informed of the same, together with the assurance that only the most imperative reasons, induce them to decline their invitation."

1845, April 29] At a meeting of the Philorhetorian Society in Philorhetorian Hall: "The Com— to obtain an orator for Commencement reported that they have procured Ralph W. Emerson."[5]

1845, May 27] The officers of the Philorhetorian Society, elected at this time, were:[6]

President:	John Eastman Sanborn
Rec. Sec.:	Alexander Winchell
Cor. Sec.:	Lewis Fuller Jones
Treas.:	Albert Schuyler Graves

1845, June 17] At a meeting of the Philorhetorian Society:[7] "Mr. Harvey presented a motion to appoint a com. to confer with a com. from the Peithologian Society upon the subject of music for Commencement oration which was passed and Messrs Goodier Loomis and Blair were elected upon that Committee." [Elisha Boanerges Harvey, Jonathan Goodier, Reuben Harrison Loomis, Franklin Otis Blair]

1845, July 2] Emerson accepted the bid from the students of Middlebury College.[8]

1845, July 15] At a meeting of the Philorhetorian Society:[9] "On motion of Mr. Harvey, a committee of three was appointed to confer with a similar Committee of the Peithologian Society on the subject of remunerating the orator at Commencement.— And Messrs. Genung, Lane and Kendall were appointed. — A Committee of four was appointed to seat the audience, consisting of Messrs. Loomis, Harvey, Genung, and Alexander. Mr. Lane was elected to preside on the occasion. [Amzi Wesley Genung, Joseph Jameson Lane, Charles Silliman Kendall, Reuben Harrison, Dixon Alexander]

1845, July 18 or earlier] Emerson indicated in a letter that in accepting the invitation to Wesleyan University he had in mind making a long overdue visit to William in New York.[10]

1845, July 22] Emerson delivered his address at Middlebury College. It was reported in the New-York Daily Tribune on Aug. 4, 1845: "...notwithstanding the prejudices entertained in this region with regard to the peculiar views of the Transcendentalists, the earnest and eloquent exposition of the 'natural functions of the scholar and educated man' was listened to with an intensity of interest and pleasure, rarely observed on such an occasion."[11]

1845, July 22] Emerson's fee for the Middletown sojourn seems to have been set at $30.00, of which (as we shall see below) he returned at least $15.00. Minutes of the Philorhetorian Society:[12] "Committee on Remunerating Orator reported that 30$ be the sum appropriated by the joint societies. Accepted Voted That the Society raise 20$ for the Orator, Mr. Emerson, providing the Peithologian Society raise an equal amount."

1845, July 29] At a meeting of the Peithologian Society:[13] "Mr McLean was elected to preside in behalf of the Peithologian, at the delivery of the oration before the two societies." [John Taylor McLean]

1845, July 30] The Middletown paper, The Constitution, for Wednesday, July 30, on page 3, under the heading "Wesleyan University":

> The annual Commencement exercises of the Wesleyan University will be held in the Methodist Church in this city on Wednesday next.
>
> On Tuesday evening, Aug. 5th, the Rev. DANIEL CURRY will deliver an oration before the Alumni, and the Rev. E. WENTWORTH a poem.
>
> The Commencement will be on Wednesday forenoon, and at 5 o'clock P.M. RALPH WALDO EMERSON will address the Philorhetorian and Peithologian Societies.
>
> Next Sunday at 2 o'clock P.M. Dr. OLIN will preach the Baccalaureate sermon in the chapel of the University.
>
> It is expected that more than ordinary interest will attend the occasion. Friends and others at home and abroad are invited to attend.

1845, July 30] The Middletown Sentinel and Witness reported as follows: [July 30, 1845, p. 3]

> WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY
>
> The Annual Commencement takes place in the Methodist E. Church, in this city, on Wednesday of next week, the 6th of August. The Graduating Class this year, numbers, we believe, about 30. As usual, those who attend may look for an interesting exhibition.
>
> The following more particular notice of the Commencement has been furnished us for publication....

1845, July 31] "At a meeting of the Philorhetorian Soc[i]y held in Prof. Lane's Recitation Room July 31st at the call of the Pres. it was voted to levy a Tax of $40/100 on each member to defray the Orator's expenses."[14]

1845, Aug. 5] Emerson arrived in Middletown on Tuesday a little before sundown. He wrote home that the little city had "great advantages of situation" —its upper street "rich with country palaces."[15]

1845, Aug. 6] The Wesleyan administration took such "good care" of Emerson that he had almost no opportunity to be with the students. He described his entertainment Tuesday night and all day Wednesday as follows: "I dined with the College and was curiously perhaps diplomatically placed at table so that whilst so immediately near to the President [Stephen Olin[16]] & dignitaries that my dignity, if I had any, could not complain, I was yet so completely insulated, that my heresy, if heresy I had, were it ever so wolfish, could not bite or inoculate anybody with venom. Dr. Olin ...is a social man, of broad courteous presidential manners, & people seem fond & proud of him."[17]

1845, Aug. 6] Emerson wrote: "...I attended the Commencement through, and the boys will compare well with their contemporaries anywhere." There he met Elizabeth Schuyler Hamilton, widow of Alexander Hamilton, as well as Roger S. Baldwin, the governor of Connecticut, with whom he chatted two or three times.[18] The exercises through which Emerson sat are described in the Middletown Sentinel and Witness, Wed., Aug. 13, 1845, p. [3], column 1:

SENTINEL & WITNESS.

MIDDLETOWN:
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1845.

Wesleyan University Commencement.

The Annual Commencement of WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY, took place at the Methodist Episcopal Church, in this City, on Wednesday last. We were prevented from attending, but understand that the spacious Church where the Exercises took place, was, as usual, crowded; and that the young gentlemen acquitted themselves in a highly creditable manner, doing honor both to themselves and the Institution.

The number on whom the degree of B. A. was conferred—the graduating Class was 20.

We understand that a goodly number of young gentlemen are expected to enter at the beginning of the next Term—four weeks from Commencement.

The Institution, it is believed, affords facilities for acquiring a Collegiate education, equal to that of any other College—and the less crowded state of its classes, will give a more favorable opportunity for each and every one to enjoy the instructions of its able Professors, than will be found to be the case where the Classes are so large as in many other Institutions.

In reference to the condition of the finances of this Institution, we understand that they were never before better. Of the sums necessary to endow three Professorships with the sum of $20,000 each, two of them are already filled up—and the third is nearly so. And in addition, we learn, that a gentleman of Boston, for himself and associates, has pledged the payment of a sufficient sum, annually, to support a Professorship for ten years—under certain conditions, which will doubtless be complied with.—This will insure to the University, from $3000 to $4000 annual income, independent of its other resources.

The following is the

ORDER OF EXERCISES.

MUSIC.—PRAYER.—MUSIC.

1. SALUTATORY ADDRESSES—in Latin.
JOHN WESLEY BEACH, *Burlington.*

2. CLASSICAL ORATION, (*Ancient*)—Genius of Classical Literature.
STEPHEN CROWELL DILLINGHAM, *Sandwich, Mass.*

3. ORATION—The Love of Truth, a practical Principle.
JARVIS NICHOLS HUSTED, *Greenwich.*
MUSIC.

4. PHILOSOPHICAL ORATION, (*Physical*)—Spirit of Progress.
JONATHAN KELSEY BURR, *Middletown.*

5. ORATION—Genius of Thomas Hood.
HIRAM FRANCIS SAVAGE, *Edinburgh, N. Y.*

6. ORATION—Eloquence of the Revolution.
WILLIAM ROSS JOHNSON, *West Poultney, Vt.*

7. ORATION—The Necessities and Pleasures of Original Thinking.
ELISHA BOANERGES HARVEY, *Bloomingdale, Pa.*
MUSIC.

8. GREEK ORATION—Αι Αναμνησεις του Σωκρατους.
JOHN STEVENS COVEL, *Troy, N. Y.*

9. ORATION—Intellect, a Transformer.
DANIEL AVERY WHEDON, *Stockbridge, N. Y.*

10. DISSERTATION—Idolatry of Intellect.
JOHN EASTMAN SANBORN, *Boston, Mass.*

11. ORATION—The Progressive Development of Truth.
JOHN TAYLOR McLEAN, *New York City.*
MUSIC.

12. PHILOSOPHICAL ORATION, (*Mental*)—Immateriality of Mind.
MOSES CLARKE WHITE, *Paris Hill, N. Y.*

13. CLASSICAL ORATION, (*Modern*)—Modern Improvement.
DEXTER RUSSELL WRIGHT, *Hewerton, N. Y.*

14. PORTRAITURE OF CHARACTER.—*Cardinal Wolsey*—Character, not Success, the Object of Life
ROBERT CARTER PITMAN, *New Bedford, Mass.*
MUSIC.

15. ORATION.
ERASTUS O. HAVEN, B. A.

16. ORATION.
GEORGE LOOMIS, B. A.
MUSIC.

The Degree of Bachelor of Arts was then Conferred on the following Candidates, viz:

JAMES BOWLER BATCHELLER.
JOHN WESLEY BEACH.
JONATHAN KELSEY BURR.
JOHN STEVENS COVEL.
STEPHEN CROWELL DILLINGHAM.
JONATHAN GOODIER.
ELISHA BOANERGES HARVEY.
ELI HUBBARD.
JARVIS NICHOLS HUSTED.
WILLIAM ROSS JOHNSON.
JOSEPH JAMESON LANE.
JOHN TAYLOR McLEAN.
ROBERT CARTER PITMAN.
JOHN EASTMAN SANBORN.
HIRAM FRANCIS SAVAGE.
JOHN KELSEY THOMPSON.
DANIEL AVERY WHEDON.
MOSES CLARKE WHITE.
SENECA WIETING.
DEXTER RUSSELL WRIGHT.

The degree of M. A. was conferred in course on the following: Wm L. Bliss, J. A. Baldwin, Wm. Batchell, C. Bolster, E. O. Haven, J. C. Ingalls, G. Loomis, E. W Merrill, S. M. Raisbeck, L. D. Stebbins, G. E. Taylor and M. T. Granger. Also on J. N. Banks, of the class of 1841.

The following persons received the honorary degree of M. A. viz: Rev. Wm. G. Howard, pastor of the Baptist Church in this City, and a graduate of Amherst College; H. P. Torsey, Principal of the Wesleyan Seminary at Readfield, Me.; Hon J. M. Shafter, recently Secretary of State in Vermont; Isaac T. Goodnow, of Wilbraham, Mass; J. W. Armstrong, of Gouverneur, N. Y. and Rev. A. McNab, of Canada West.

The honorary degree of D. D. was conferred on

Rev. J. R. Crane, Pastor of the First Congregational Church in this city.

The honorary degree of L. L. D. was conferred on Hon D. O. Shattuck, of Mississippi, and on Prof. T. D. Woolsey, of Yale College.

MUSIC.

17. ORATION—Immortality in Literature—With Valedictory Address.

JOSEPH JAMESON LANE, *New York City.*

MUSIC.

BENEDICTION.

* Excused from speaking.
† Candidates for Degree of M. A.

ARRIVAL OF THE MAMMOTH STEAMER *GREAT BRITAIN.*

This splendid iron steamer arrived at New York, on Sunday last, in 13 days from Liverpool, Eng. having 45 passengers.

The news by her is satisfactory in relation to the markets for Cotton and American Provisions. The former it is believed, had previously reached its lowest point; and was now on the advance.

American State Stocks are looking up, in consequence, mainly, of Pennsylvania having paid her interest. Her stock is quoted at $71, and U. S. Bank $34.

Miss Bremer, the popular Swedish authoress, is about to visit this country.

Earl Grey has deceased, at 81 years old.

The King of Holland was on a visit to Queen Victoria.

Highway robbery near Brook Farm.—Mr. George W Hatch, sashmaker, connected with the Brook Farm Association, West Roxbury, reports, and shows bruises to confirm his story, that he was waylaid, assaulted, and robbed, about a mile this side of the Farm, about twelve o'clock on Friday night. He was riding in a wagon, and a few minutes before he was attacked he overtook a stranger, who pretended to be lame and fatigued, and requested a cast in his wagon as far as Mr. Cunningham's, a short distance ahead. Mr. Hatch took the man in, and drove on a few rods, when a second man made his appearance, and inquired the way in a tone which awakened Mr. H.'s suspicions, and he stooped down to arm himself with a club which laid in the bottom of the wagon. While in this position, the man in the wagon pushed him into the road, where he was seized by the second man, and, after a struggle, badly beaten by the two, and robbed of $150. They then passed a strap pretty tight round his neck, chucked him into the wagon in a state of insensibility, and in that condition he arrived home, through the good service of his sagacious horse. Our informant states that one of Mr. H.'s ribs is broken, and that he has sustained other serious bodily injuries.—*Boston Post.*

☞The editors of the Christian Freeman and Waterbury American are pelting each other with paper bullets, respecting an advertisement in the N. Y. Tribune, of a *white* man who wished to obtain a *black* wife! Although they are quite belligerent, there has been no blood shed, only a quantity of ink!

A shark was caught at Pensacola, by those on board the U. S. sloop of war Saratoga, which on being opened, was found to contain a man's head entire, except the lower jaw. It was supposed to be that of a man lost overboard from the Falmouth, a few days previous.

A queer genius, in speaking of the height of Trinity Church spire, 230 feet, says "that one of the North River steamboats, if placed on end, would exceed it in height, by 40 feet." What an idea!

1845, Aug 6] Emerson addressed the Wesleyan group at 5 P.M.:[19] "At 5' in the afternoon, I met the Societies & made my speech, which passed very well, & certainly was all the better for having had a rehearsal at Middlebury. The young men asked a copy for printing, and I then told them its history, & found I was telling them no news, for the New-York Tribune had already told them of the oration in Vermont & its subject. Well I assured them that the oration was now enlarged & retrenched for them, & if I printed it I would do it on my own charge & they might order any copies they pleased."

Emerson was handed his predetermined honorarium of $30.00, probably in cash, and immediately presented $10.00 to the Philorhetorian Society for the purchase of books for its library and gave $5.00 to the Peithologians.[20]

Then followed the President's levee:[21] There he "saw again all the Alumni & the Bishop Janes[22] & all the fathers of Methodism. A revolution you know has overtaken them of which this college is the fruit. They call themselves the preachers of the poor. [T]hey were the preachers of the ignorant and they preached ignorance & thought learning a disqualification. Now they have several colleges in the Union, and this one in New England; and both opinions—that old doubt of books, & this new ambition of books,—produce together a little occasional confusion."

The Constitution, Middletown, Conn., Wednesday, Aug. 13, 1845, p. 3, reported as follows:

"The Commencement exercises passed off well. The graduating class did honor to themselves and the University. Although the day was hot and sultry the Church was crowded with an attentive and seemingly well pleased audience. The evening before, an address was delivered by Rev. Daniel Curry, and a poem by the Rev. E. Wentworth, before the Alumni of the University; and after the commence-

ment exercises an excellent address was delivered before the Peithologian and Peilorhetorian [sic] Societies by Mr. Emerson of Boston which was received with much favor. Several distinguished men were present, among whom we observed Governor Baldwin, Bishop Janes of the Methodist Church, and Ex-Mayor Harper of New York. The Hartford Brass Band was in attendance."

1845, Aug. 6] Emerson stayed overnight in Middletown and then, in comfortable stages, continued on to New York.[23] At 9:30 A.M. on August 7, he went to New Haven by stage and railroad. At New Haven he took the steamboat for New York, arriving there at about 6 P.M.

1845, Aug. 8] Meanwhile, the College administration had been somewhat disturbed by Emerson's views. On August 8, President Olin wrote from Middletown that he had been unable to accept all that had been said in the oration delivered on the sixth and that he feared the college would suffer if the address were published as delivered. The patrons of Wesleyan, he said, were mostly religious people unaccustomed to speculation. He asked Emerson to modify some of the statements before printing.[24]

Emerson did not receive President Olin's letter until after his return to Concord. He had, moreover, left his address with William in New York, when obliged to write to the Middletown administration.[25]

1845, Aug. 14] In his reply to Olin, Emerson carefully dodged the imputation of heresy and at the same time gave assurance that Wesleyan need not worry about the printed result. It was, doubtless, this kick-back that determined Emerson not to publish at all, at least with reference to delivery at Middletown. He, of course, carefully refrained from communicating to his student sponsors the true state of things.

"I can easily believe," he wrote Olin, "that there were some petulances of expression which a more considerate taste would correct. I doubt not that I can remove some expressions that may have disturbed some of your friends and perhaps thereby improve the fitness & the truth of the piece. I shall look at it with care."[26]

1845, Aug. 30] The fiscal records of the Philorhetorian Society show that the boys took Emerson's gift and purchased $10.12 1/2 worth of books:[27]

Aug 6th	By Cash paid R. W. Emerson= Orator	20.00
" 30th	" Ballance on Books purchased at his request with $10. given by him—	12 1/2

The Librarian's record of the 1845-1850 period indicates that two volumes of Emerson's Essays were accessioned.[28]

1845, Oct. 14] That Emerson's influence was still being felt three months after his visit is shown in one of the questions debated before the Philorhetorian Society:[29] "Is the Transcendental Literature Calculated to Exert a favorable influence upon the Community?"

1845, Late Fall] Emerson carved up his manuscript, part going into his projected lecture on "Goethe"; part into "Montaigne"; and part into "The Man of Letters: An Address Delivered Before the Literary Societies of Dartmouth and Waterville College" (1863). [See his Works (Riverside Edition, 1884), X, 249ff. and IV, 249ff.][30]

1845, Dec. 11] Emerson began his series of lectures on "Representative Men":

"The Uses of Great Men" (Dec. 11, 1845)
"Plato" (Dec. 18, 1845)
"Swedenborg" (Dec. 25, 1845)
"Montaigne" (Jan. 1, 1846)
"Napoleon" (Jan. 8, 1846)
"Shakespear" (Jan. 15, 1846)
"Goethe" (Jan. 22, 1846)

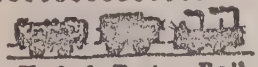
1846, Feb. 3] Daniel Martindale was elected President of the Peithologian Society, which he was later to serve as librarian.[31]

1846, late in May or early in June][32] Martindale, about to complete his senior year in Wesleyan, wrote Emerson, reminding him of the continuing interest of the members of the two literary societies and hoping for information about the possible printing of his Middletown address. He may even have suggested arrangements that might be made in Middletown. Emerson was undoubtedly moved by the loyalty of such students and in his letter of June 10, edited by Professor Gronewold in the preceding article, offered to vary his usual procedure and possibly permit a section of it to be printed by the Connecticut group. Unfortunately, Wesleyan's literary periodical had ceased publishing in 1842, after only a two-year run, and the date of Martindale's graduation was rapidly approaching.

1846, August 5] Martindale graduated, delivering an oration—I hope having no connection with Emerson—on "Failures of Great Men." The following account of his commencement survives:[33]

SENTINEL & WITNESS.

MIDDLETOWN:
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1846.



New York & Boston Rail Road.

COMMENCEMENT.

On Wednesday last, the Annual Commencement Exercises, of Wesleyan University, took place in the spacious Methodist E. Church, in this City. The uncommonly large Class which graduated this year—43—23 of whom had parts assigned them, rendered it expedient to hold a forenoon and an afternoon session. This is an improvement, as the crowding the exercises into one sitting, extends it, necessarily, to a fatiguing length.

We were not present in the forenoon—but were in the afternoon—and from what we learn from those who were, and from our own observations, we can confidently speak of the Exhibition as one highly creditable to the young gentlemen who took part in the exercises—as well as to this excellent and popular institution.—They were well written, and generally well delivered—many of them eloquently. They would have done credit to any Institution in the country.

In the absence of President Olin, who is now in Europe on account of ill-health, Vice President Smith presided on the occasion.

The Music, by the Kendall Band, was rich, beautiful—such as might have been expected from that justly celebrated Band.

ORDER OF EXERCISES.

FORENOON.

MUSIC—PRAYER—MUSIC.

1. SALUTATORY ADDRESSES—In Latin.
   Fales Henry Newhall, *Saugus, Mass.*
2. CLASSICAL ORATION, (*Ancient*)—The Oriental contrasted with the Grecian Mind.
   William Murphy Ingraham, *Ameuia, N. Y.*
3. ORATION—Political Morality.
   Edwin Clowes Rushmore, *Hempstead, L. I.*

MUSIC.

4. ORATION—The Power of "One Idea."
   Albert Johnston Whittaker, *Trenton, N. J.*
5. ORATION—Universal Change.
   Frank T. Garretson, *Rhinebeck, N. Y.*
6. ORATION—Secret of Success.
   Perry G. Childs, *Cazenovia, N. Y.*

MUSIC.

7. ORATION—Constitution of the United States.
   Zebina Thomas Dean, *Ogdensburg, N. Y.*
8. ORATION—The Claims of Natural History.
   Caleb P. Wickersham, *Kennett Square, Pa.*
9. ORATION—Prerogatives of Literary Excellence.
   Smith Tuttle, *Bristol*

MUSIC.

10. METAPHYSICAL ORATION—Eternity of Thought.
    Ambi Bradford Hyde, *Oxford, N. Y.*
11. DISSERTATION—History.
    Samuel Sobieski Nelles, *Mount Pleasant, Canada W.*
12. ORATION—National Conscience.
    Charles Sellman Kendall, *New Lebanon, N. Y.*

MUSIC.

13. GREEK ORATION—Ἡ φρὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέγεθος.
    * William Tonison, *Trenton, N. J.*
14. ORATION—Benefiecnce.
    Eli Converse Bruce, *Red Creek, N. Y.*
15. PORTRAITURE OF CHARACTER—Hildebrand.
    Reuben Harrison Loomis, *Bloomfield.*
16. ORATION—Social Reform.
    Albert Schuyler Graves, *Salisbury Plains, Vt.*

MUSIC.

AFTERNOON.

1. DISSERTATION—The True.
   Benjamin T. Hoyt, *Claremont, N. H.*
2. ORATION—Ruin.
   Charles Powers, *Ameuia, N. Y.*
3. ORATION—Pyramids not all Egyptian.
   John Binney Gould, *Nantasket, Mass.*

MUSIC.

4. CLASSICAL ORATION, (*Modern*)—A National Literature.
   Lewis Fuller Jones, *Petersburg, N. Y.*
5. ORATION—Spain—her Glory and Decline.
   Seth Loring Sprague, *Duxbury, Mass.*

MUSIC.

6. ORATION—Failures of Great Men.
   Daniel Martindale, *New York City.*
7. PHILOSOPHICAL ORATION—The Identity of Philosophy.
   Gilbert Haven, *Malden, Mass.*

MUSIC.

DEGREES CONFERRED.

MUSIC.

8. ORATION—Republican Tendency of Letters—with Valedictory Address.
   Samuel Ferguson Beach, *Trumbull.*

MUSIC.

BENEDICTION.

* Excused.

The Degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on the following young gentlemen, of the Graduating Class:

Dixon Alexander, Henry Bayliss, Samuel Ferguson Beach, Eli Converse Bruce, Perry G. Childs, Friend Smith Davenport, Zebina Thomas Dean, Francis Thomas Garretson, Amzi Wesley Gerguny, John Binney Gould, Albert Schuyler Graves, Francis Ward Hammond, Gilbert Haven, Benjamin Thomas Hoyt, Zenas Hard, Ambi Bradford Hyde, William Murphy Ingraham, Lewis Fuller Jones, Charles Sellman Kendall, Reuben Harrison Loomis, Oliver Marcy, Jacob Edwin Marsh, Daniel Martindale, Samuel Sobieski Nelles, Fales Henry Newhall, Lewis Frederick Palmer, Charles Powers, Albert George Roberts, Edgar Clowes Rushmore, David Alexander Spaid, Seth Loring Sprague, William Tomison, Smith Tuttle, Albert Johnston Whittaker, Caleb P. Wickersham.

The Degree of M. A. was conferred on Samuel S. Bement, Milton Butterfield, Nelson E. Cobleigh, Morgan R. Daniels, Curtis P. Darrison, Nelson E. Goodrich, Horace S. Harbort, John T. Peters, John W. Round, Wm. F. Smith, Micah I. Talbot, Jr., John H. Twombly, Thomas P. Underwood and Loudon H. Ward.

The honorary degree of M. A. was conferred on the Rev. Wm. Bell, of Perth, Canada; Rev. Eli Noyes, of Boston; George W. Lesh, M. D. of Brooklyn, L. I.; and Mr. Sullivan H. Weston, of Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

The honorary degree of D. D. on the Rev. James Pyne, of London.

Concord Main Street about 1862

1 I, too, am indebted for much information and for many courtesies to Miss Grace W. Bacon, Reference Librarian in the Olin Library at Wesleyan, where I spent a part of one day. For details about students who participated in these societies, see the Alumni Record of Wesleyan University, Centennial (Sixth) Edition, ed. Frank W. Nicolson, Middletown, 1931.
2 Philorhetorian Society, Secretary's Minutes (1839-1864).
3 Emerson's Letters (ed. Rusk), III, 264.
4 Peithologian Society, Secretary's Report (1839-1849).
5 Philorhetorian Society, Secretary's Minutes (1839-1864). 6 Ibid. 7 Ibid.
8 Letters, III, 292.
9 Philorhetorian Secretary's Minutes (1839-1864).
10 Letters, III, 292 (July 18, 1845).
11 Letters, III, 294-295.
12 Philorhetorian Secretary's Minutes (1839-1864).
13 Peithologian Secretary's Report (1839-1849).
14 Philorhetorian Secretary's Minutes (1839-1864).
15 Letters, III, 294.
16 For an account of President Olin's significance in Wesleyan's history, see chap. V (pp. 72-82) of Carl F. Price, Wesleyan's First Century: With an Account of the Centennial Celebration, Middletown, 1932.
17 Letters, III, 294. 18 Letters, III, 294-295.
19 Letters, III, 294-295.
20 See below under the date, Aug. 30, 1845. See also the Treasurer's Account Book of the Peithologian Society, 1839-58, folio 9 recto.
21 Letters, III, 294-295. 22 Edmund Storer Janes.
23 Letters, III, 295. 24 Letters, III, 296.
25 Letters, III, 296. 26 Letters, III, 296.
27 Philorhetorian Society Account Book (1843-1852), folio 14 recto.
28 Philorhetorian Librarian's Record Book (1845-1850), penultimate folio, verso.
29 Philorhetorian Secretary's Minutes (1839-1864).
30 See James Elliot Cabot, A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson, (2 vols.), Boston & N.Y., [1887], II, 752.
31 Peithologian Secretary's Report (1839-1849).
32 Emerson received it on June 9.
33 See the Middletown Sentinel and Witness, Wed., August 12, 1846, p. [3], column 1.

EMERSON'S ANECDOTE FROM GOETHE OF ST. PHILIP NERI AND THE NUN

By KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

[In his essay on "Worship" in The Conduct of Life (Works, VI, 227-228) Emerson gives an account of St. Philip Neri, hitherto unidentified, chiefly interesting because it is traceable to his reading in the fifty-five-volume set of Goethe thirty years before[1] and to volume XXIX ("Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt")[2] which he may have carried into Italy in 1833.[3] His first draft of the Neri story is laid in the folder with unpublished Sermon 82[4], "The Virtue of Humility," and intended for use in a revision. A comparison of his original translation of Goethe's text with the passage in "Worship" will be rewarding.]

St Philip Neri went one day into the presence of the Pope just after his holiness had been informed that in the neighborhood of Rome was a nun who had exhibited miraculous gifts. St Philip received from the holy father the charge to investigate the truth of these tales. He mounted his mule & through very foul roads arrived soon at the cloister. Being admitted he conversed with the Abbess who gave him a circumstantial account of the gifts of the nun. The nun being sent for entered the apartment & he without further greeting stretched out to her his muddy boot with intimations that she shd. draw it off. The holy pure maiden drew back much shocked & let her indignation at this purpose be known with violent words. Neri rose all tired as he was mounted his beast & returned to the pope sooner than he was expected; since for the proof of such spiritual gifts very exact methods are prescribed by the Catholic fathers because the Ch. certainly admits the possibility of such powers but does not admit their presence without close scrutiny. To the wondering Pope he quickly opened the report. She is no saint. She works no miracles since the crowning grace she wants Hum——

One of the pious & remarkable men of the Catholic Church who most deserved the name of Saint was Philip Neri (born 1515 at Florence) who dedicated himself to a life of self-denial & benevolence.

The Pope say St Philips biographers was informed that in a certain cloister in the country a Nun had appeared endowed with miraculous gifts. He committed to Philip the charge of investigating the facts. He mounted his mule to perform his commission but came back quicker than the holy father expected him. Philip addressed him in these words "Holiest Father: This person works no miracle since the first Christian grace is lacking, namely, Humility. I went through bad roads & bad weather to the cloister I inquired for her in your name. She appeared, & I instead of greeting, reached out to her my boot intimating that she should draw it off. Angry she drew back & replied to my desire with sharpness 'For what do you hold me? she said, She was the maid of the Lord, but not for every one who came hither to put her upon a groom's work.' I got up immediately; mounted my beast; came hither and I am sure you will ask no further proof." Goethe vol 29 p. 201

[The original, in Goethe, comes from a chapter entitled: "Philipp Neri, der humoristische Heilige":][6]

... Dem heiligen Vater war angekündigt, in einem Kloster auf dem Lande thue sich eine wunderwirkende Nonne hervor. Unser Mann erhält den Austrag eine für die Kirche so wichtige Angelegenheit näher zu untersuchen; er setzt sich auf sein Maulthier das Befohlene zu verrichten, kommt aber schneller zurück als der heilige Vater es erwartet. Der Verwunderung seines geistlichen Gebieters begegnet Neri mit folgenden Worten: "Heiligster Vater, diese thut keine Wunder, denn es fehlt ihr an der ersten christlichen Tugend, der Demuth; ich komme durch schlimmen Weg und Wetter übel zugerichtet im Kloster an, ich lasse sie, in eurem Namen, vor mich fordern, sie erscheint und ich reiche ihr statt des Grusses den Stiefel hin, mit der Andeutung sie solle mir ihn ausziehen. Entsetzt fährt sie zurück, und mit Schelten und Zorn erwiedert sie mein Ansinnen; für was ich sie halte! ruft sie aus, die Magd des Herrn sei sie, aber nicht eines jeden der daher komme, um knechtische Dienste von ihr zu verlangen. Ich erhub mich gelassen, setzte mich wieder auf mein Thier, stehe wieder vor euch, und ich bin überzeugt ihr werdet keine weitere Prüfung nöthig finden."

1 Goethe's Werke: Vollständige Ausgabe Letzter Hand, (55 vols.), Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1828-1833.
2 See Emerson the Essayist, I, 320-324.
3 Emerson's Letters (ed. Rusk), I, 373fn.
4 The MS. is temporarily numbered "Houghton 295." Permission to edit the following fragments has been secured from Edward W. Forbes, Esq., President of the Emerson Memorial Association.
5 Young Emerson Speaks, ed. Arthur C. McGiffert, Jr., Boston, 1938, p. 267.
6 Goethe's Werke (ed. cit.), XXIX, pp. 200-201.

EMERSON IN THE DIARIES OF S. K. LOTHROP AND E. E. HALE

By THE EDITOR

Biographical details concerning Samuel Kirkland Lothrop (H.U. 1825) are easily available.[1] He was sent to Cambridge in 1817, at the age of twelve, to be in the custody of his maternal uncle, President John Thornton Kirkland, in the hope that he might later qualify for admission to Harvard. During the period of his preparation, he had Ralph Waldo Emerson as a part-time tutor. The diary account of his first interview with R.W.E. deserves to be better known:[2]

On Monday morning Dr. Kirkland, as he was leaving the breakfast table, said that he would like to see me in his study at a quarter before nine. When I presented myself he gave two little taps of his feet upon the floor, and immediately I heard a movement in the room below, footsteps on the stairs, and a knock at the door. The 'Come in' was answered by a young person, to whom Dr. Kirkland said, 'Emerson, this is my nephew, Master Lothrop, of whom I spoke to you.' Emerson and myself shook hands, while my uncle continued, 'I wish to put him under your instruction, for the present at least. Will you take him to your room, see where he is in his studies, and begin accordingly? Be careful not to make his lessons too long and difficult, because he is more accustomed to out-of-door life than to study. In his recitations and oral instruction I wish you to give him about an hour a day, from Monday to Friday inclusive.' Emerson bowed, and said, 'I will do the best I can, sir;' then turning to me, asked, 'Will you come down to my room?' As soon as we got into his room he said, with a slight diminution of the dignity and authority manifested in presence of the President, 'Lothrop—your Christian name; what is it?' I told him my name, and then made the same inquiry in regard to his; to which he replied, 'My name is Ralph,—Ralph Waldo.' Physically at least, the child was the father of the man; for he was very much the same person then in looks and manners that I have known him to be for the last forty years. He was about two years older than myself, and nearly as tall as when he had reached maturity,—a Saxon blonde, pale face, light hair, blue eyes. He was calm and quiet in his manners; and no matter how much he felt, externally he was never moved or excited. I think there was the same mingling of shyness, awkwardness, and dignity about him as a freshman in college that is often observed in him today.

The diary of Edward Everett Hale (H.U. 1839) is interesting to Emersonians for two short passages—one registering student reaction to Emerson's first little book, published in September, 1836; the other, to his Phi Beta Kappa address, The American Scholar, delivered and published in 1837:

1837, January 16.—After reciting to Channing today walked down to the bridge with Donaldson talking about the I. O. H., the interests of which he has a good deal at heart. Came home and read some in Rev. Mr. Emerson's "Nature." It is an odd sort of book but I like it better than most everyone else seems to, though to be sure there is a good deal in it that I can't understand. In the evening Nathan undertook to Animal Magnetize me....

[1837, August 31--the Phi Beta Kappa exercises] It [Emerson's oration] was not very good, but very transcendental."

1 E.g., C. F. Adams, "Harvard Examinations in 1821 and 1837," Harvard Graduates' Magazine, June, 1901, pp. 491-495.
2 Mass. Historical Society Proceedings, n.s. XIV (1900-1901), pp. 201-202.
3 Edward Everett Hale, "A Harvard Undergraduate in the Thirties," Harper's Monthly Magazine, CXXXII (1916), no. 791, pp. 691-702, esp. pp. 692 and 694.

Thoreau and the Indian

Emerson wrote H. S. Randall from Concord on April 28, 1858: "The box containing the four volumes of the Documentary History of New York arrived safely...at my door, & has been received by Mr. Thoreau, with great thankfulness.... I am very sure he will...give a good account of it. His study seems at present to be equally shared between Natural & Civil History.... He reads with a keen and original eye." Wakeman Sale 211.

Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York, procured in Holland, England and France by John Romeyn Brodhead, Esq. Ed. [for the State] by E. B. O'Callaghan. (7 vols.) Albany, 1856.

[Contains much on Indians, Indian negotiations with the colonists and Indian life.]

Thoreau owned 4 of the 7. We offer 6 [vols. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7]--nearly 5,500 pages of folio size---for only

$25.00 Postage extra.

See Walter Harding, Thoreau's Library, Charlottesville, 1957, page 45 for full details.

It has never been explored by the research scholar interested in Thoreau.

TRANSCENDENTAL BOOKS
HARTFORD 1